

A SKETCH
OF
SAMARITAN HISTORY
DOGMA AND LITERATURE

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A SKETCH

OF

SAMARITAN HISTORY, &c.

a

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TREATISE ON PUNCTUATION, by the same author, translated
by Aben Ezra; edited from Bodleian MSS., with an English
translation.

London, 1870, 8vo.

pp. xiii, and 147, English; pp. xv, and 132, Arabic and Hebrew.
Price 7s. 6d.

In preparation.

A HEBREW COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH, by a French
Rabbi of the 12th century, edited from a Bodleian MS. with
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A SKETCH
OF
SAMARITAN HISTORY, DOGMA,
AND
LITERATURE,

PUBLISHED AS AN INTRODUCTION
TO
“FRAGMENTS OF A SAMARITAN TARGUM,
EDITED FROM A BODLEIAN MS.”

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TRÜBNER AND CO., LONDON.

1874.

OXFORD:
BY E. PICKARD HALL AND J. H. STACY,
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

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A SKETCH
OF
SAMARITAN HISTORY, &c.

MORE than two centuries and a half have passed away since the discovery was made at Damascus of a Hebrew Pentateuch, written in Samaritan characters, and with readings different from those of the Masoretic text in use among the Jews, and also of a complete translation of the same into the Samaritan idiom. The attention of learned Europe was thus directed to the literary remains of a people now languishing and well nigh extinct, but once the bitter and formidable religious opponents of the Jewish nation, and an interest was aroused in them which the labours of De Sacy, Gesenius, and others in the present century have again revived. The results, however, of these enquiries, extending as they do over so long a period, are in many cases buried in rare and costly volumes or hidden away in periodicals and long-forgotten dissertations. It has been thought, therefore, that a short sketch, embodying the latest information attainable with regard to the history, writings, and religious tenets of the Samaritans, may fitly

serve as an introduction to the interesting and important fragment of their literature which is here published.

I. The tide of Assyrian conquest which had begun to overflow the land of Israel under Pul¹ about 770 B.C., and had continued its progress during the reigns of Tiglath Pileser² and Shalmaneser³, reached its height in the time of Hosea, when, in 722, 'the king of Assyria⁴ took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes⁵,' supplying their place

¹ 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xv. 19.

² 2 Kings xv. 29.

³ 2 Kings xvii. 3-5.

⁴ *Ibid.* xvii. 6; xviii. 11. This appears to have been Sargon, the successor of Shalmaneser. See the article 'Sargon' in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, iii. 1142, and George Smith's *Chronology of the Reign of Sennacherib* (1871), p. 12. On a cylinder in the British Museum, Sargon is called the 'Punisher of wide Beth-Omri'; and in a bull inscription of Khorsabad, 'Destroyer of the city of Samaria, all Beth-Omri.' In the copy of his annals he says, 'The city of Samaria I besieged and captured, 27,290 people dwelling in it I carried captive, 50 chariots in the midst of them I arranged and the rest of them I took possession of, my general over them I appointed, and the taxes paid by the former king I fixed upon them.' Cf. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.* (1872), p. 158 sq.

⁵ 2 Kings xvii. 24. For an identification of these places see Asahel Grant's *Nestorians* (1841), p. 129 sqq. Halah is probably the Calah of Gen. x. 11, 12, now Nimrûd. The Habor flows S.W. into the Tigris from the mountains of Assyria (so

with colonists from 'Babylon, and from Cuthah,

Ewald, *Gesch.* (1866), iii. 658 ; but according to Schrader, p. 161, it is the greater stream of that name which flows into the Euphrates near Carchemish). Gozan=Zozan, the Nestorian name for pastures : the high lands on either side of the great Zâb river, W. of lake Ooroomiah. (Rages also near Teheran, Nineveh, and Ecbatana, are mentioned in the book of Tobit as settlements of Israelites : Elkosh, the home of the prophet Nahum, where his tomb is still shewn and greatly venerated, was north of Nineveh.) Dr. Grant brings forward several striking reasons for the identity of the independent Nestorian Christians inhabiting this almost inaccessible tract of country with some of the ten tribes. They call themselves Bene Israel ; the patriarch claimed to be of the tribe of Naphtali ; the neighbouring Jews allow that they are of the same stock as themselves, and speak almost the same dialect with them, though the two bodies hate each other and will not eat together. The Nestorians still offer peace-offerings, practise vows of Nazaritism, bring first-fruits, keep the Sabbath strictly, have a recess in their churches termed the Holy of Holies ; children may be baptized on the eighth day after birth ; the purification of women after childbirth extends for forty days in the case of a male, for sixty of a female infant ; they keep the Passover, but the holy Eucharist supersedes the Jewish sacrifice ; their physiognomy and names are Jewish ; their patriarch, both in his civil and religious capacity, strongly resembles the ancient high-priest ; they have 'avengers of blood,' the churches serve as 'cities of refuge.' The 'Chaldean' Church dates from A.D. 1681, when the Nestorian metropolitan of Diarbekir quarrelled with his patriarch, and had himself consecrated by the Pope patriarch of the converts to papacy from the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches who designate themselves by this title. Dr. Grant's conclusions are doubted by Ewald, *Gesch.* (1864), iv.

and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim¹:

120, who however does not bring forward reasons in support of his view. He mentions, giving references, the journey of Eldad the Danite in the ninth century in search of the ten tribes described by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 5. 2) as existing in great numbers beyond the Euphrates, Benjamin of Tudela's description of them in the twelfth, and the various attempts made to discover them among Afghans, Chinese, Parthians, Buddhists, and North American Indians. For Talmudical traditions as to their position see Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 372; for other references to Josephus, St. Jerome, &c., Juynboll, *Comment. in Hist. Gent. Sam.* p. 26 sq.; also Chwolson's *Achtzehn Hebr. Grabschriften aus d. Krim* in *Mém. de l'acad. imp. de St. Pétersbourg*, série 7, vol. ix. 7, for records of the ten tribes in the Crimea and (p. 59) Caucasus; and for their connection with the legend of Prester John, cf. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes* (1864), p. 17. Benjamin of Tudela has found a successor in 'J. J. Benjamin II,' who went on the same quest in 1846-1855; he corroborates Dr. Grant's statements; see his 'Eight Years in Asia and Africa' (Hanover, 1863), p. 124.

¹ For the position of Cuthah, see below, p. 9, note 4. That of Ava is not known. Hamath was plundered by Sargon in the second year of his reign, its inhabitants carried off, and others settled in their place. Schrader, pp. 162-6. Ewald, *op. cit.* iii. 655 (1866), places Sepharvaim and Ava near Hamath. Sargon in his first year transported colonists from Babylon to Samaria: cf. Schrader, p. 162. Other colonists seem to have joined them later. Sargon says in 715 B.C.: 'The Tamudi, Ibadidi, Maršimani and Hayapa, remote Arabians [cf. 'Geshem the Arabian,' Neh. ii. 19, iv. 7] dwelling in Bari whom the Akku and Sapiru knew not of . . . in the service of Assur my lord I destroyed them, and the rest of them I removed, and in

It has been much debated to what extent this depopulation was carried out¹. In the later conquest of Judah it is especially mentioned that the 'poorest sort of the people of the land²' were left behind, and only the nobles, warriors, and artisans carried away. And it seems most probable that such had been the case with Israel also, for Josiah, in 630, puts down idolatry in 'Manasseh and Ephraim, and Simeon, even unto Naphtali³', and a little later repairs the temple with money collected for the purpose from 'Manasseh and Ephraim and all the remnant of Israel⁴', as well as from Judah and Benjamin. Again, after the ruin of Judah, in 588, worshippers from Shechem and Shiloh and Samaria are represented as coming with offerings

the city of Samaria I placed . . .'. Vid. George Smith, *op. cit.* p. 14, and Schrader, p. 163. Other tribes also are mentioned in Ezra iv. 9, 10, as having been brought over by Asnapper and settled in Samaria, (for their position see Ewald, iii. 727): in iv. 2, the Samaritans ascribe their settlement to Esarhaddon. Makrizi's account of this shifting of populations is to be found in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, i. 302.

¹ For a reference to varying opinions on the subject see the article 'Samaria' in Smith's *Bible Dict.* iii. 1105.

² 2 Kings xxiv. 14.

³ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 9. The invitation of Hezekiah to the pass-over in 2 Chron. xxx. seems to have extended principally, if not only, to the parts untouched by Assyria: the reference therefore appears to be of no value for determining the question of what Israelitish population was left behind by the conquerors.

to the temple at Jerusalem¹. In all likelihood, therefore, a considerable population of Israelites remained behind, who were recruited after the withdrawal of the Assyrian armies by returning fugitives² and fresh drafts of foreign populations from the various countries which, in their turn, came beneath the yoke of the kings of Assyria³.

At first the worship of Jehovah seems to have been entirely overlooked amid that of the numerous deities⁴ introduced by the new settlers, but in consequence of the country being visited by a plague of lions, it, or some modification of it⁵, was established by an Israelite priest⁶ at Bethel, the

¹ Jer. xli. 5.

² Cf. Jer. xl. 7-12 for the similar case of Judah.

³ The term *ἀλλογενῆς* as applied to a Samaritan in Luke xvii. 18 cannot fairly be pressed so as to exclude the notion of there being an Israelitish element among the Samaritan population.

⁴ 2 Kings xvii. 30, 31. Succoth-benoth, the deity of the Babylonians, cannot be traced. Nergal signifies the 'lion-god,' mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions as worshipped by the people of Cutha. This source gives no information as to Ashima, Nibhas, and Tartak. The burning of children by the inhabitants of Sepharvaim may have been connected with their worship of the sun, the name signifying the 'city of the sun.' Schrader, 166-168.

⁵ Possibly the old calf-worship was restored again, Bethel having been the seat of it. Ewald, iii. 729.

⁶ The priests, as being an educated and important class of the community, would naturally have been among the captives.

former centre of state idolatry under Jeroboam and his successors ; each nationality meanwhile retaining its own peculiar divinity and religious rites. Although, therefore, the influence of the sanctuary at Bethel seems in time to have spread throughout the new immigrants and to have expelled the various deities and rites introduced by them¹, still Zerubbabel and his returning brethren may have had good reason for declining the co-operation of the 'lion-converts²' in the work of restoring the ancient ritual and temple at Jerusalem. This refusal roused the deep hostility of the Samaritans, and from this time the relations between the two people became continually more and more embittered, till an absolute separation ensued between them. Even now, when one common ruin has for so many centuries involved them both, they hold no intercourse with each other. From this time forward one thought alone presented itself to the Samaritans' mind, to depress by every possible means, fair or foul, their hated rivals of Jerusalem, to represent themselves as the true disciples of the great prophet of Israel and Gari-zim as the sanctuary chosen of God on which the first temple was at His command built by Joshua, while Eli, Samuel, David, and Solomon were held

¹ Ezra iv. 2.

² *Bab. Baba Kama*, 38 b.

up to reprobation as the apostate leaders of a national and religious schism¹.

By the possession of a tract of country remarkable for its fertility, and venerable for its religious associations, the Samaritans were well qualified for maintaining an opposition to the rival state². It extended, according to Josephus³, from Ginea or En-Gannim, on the south side of the great plain of Jezreel, to the borders of Benjamin, thus including the old territory of Manasseh and Ephraim. Its principal towns were Bethshan⁴, famous for its fertility, known later under the name of Seythopolis; Abelmeholah⁵, the home of Elisha; Jezreel⁶, the residence of Ahab; Tirzah⁷, proverbial for its beauty, where dwelt the kings of Israel from

¹ Yet, when it suited them, the Samaritans would deny all connection with the Jews and assert their heathen extraction: thus in the time of Darius Hystaspes they claim to be Persians (Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 4. 9), under Alexander the Great, Sidonians (*ib.* xi. 8. 6; xii. 5. 5).

² The old tribe of Ephraim, whose territory they possessed, had been of great political importance under the Judges; under Abimelech it gained the royal power, and later opposed Ishbosheth to David and Jeroboam to Rehoboam, always bearing with great unwillingness the supremacy of Judah: the Samaritans assumed exactly the same position.

³ *B. J.* iii. 3. 4; but in the next chapter he makes Anouath or Burkin the frontier. Cf. Neubauer, *Géographie*, p. 57.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxxi. 10.

⁵ 1 Kings xix. 16.

⁶ 1 Kings xviii. 46.

⁷ Cant. vi. 4.

Jeroboam to Zimri; Shiloh, the resting-place of the ark¹; Bethel, the scene of Jacob's visions².

But the principal events of Samaritan history gather round the two centres of Samaria and Shechem. Built originally by Omri in a commanding position of great fertility, strength, and beauty, on a hill some six miles north-west of Shechem³, Samaria continued till the Assyrian captivity the capital of the kingdom of Israel, the centre of Ahab's Baal-worship, the scene of many of the miracles of Elijah and Elisha displayed in famines brought upon the land, in the sudden return of plenty, and in deliverance from Syrian invasions; the object of the bitter denunciations of Hosea and other prophets for luxury, idolatry, and oppression. Taken in 722, after a three years' siege⁴, the city must have sunk for a

¹ Josh. xviii. 1. ² Gen. xxviii. 19. ³ 1 Kings xvi. 24.

⁴ 2 Kings xviii. 9, 10. For further references cf. Robinson, *Palestine* (1867), ii. 304, and Winer, *Bibl. Real-Wörterbuch* (1847), p. 369. The term שְׁמָרִים is once (2 Kings xvii. 29) used in the Old Testament for the 'inhabitants of Samaria.' In later times the Samaritans designated themselves as שְׁמָרִים, which, by a play upon the word, they interpreted 'observers' of the Law or Sabbath, or, according to others, 'guardians' of the land, senses recognised by Origen (*Comm. in Joan.* p. 355; *Hom. in Ezech.* ix. 1), Eusebius (*Chron. ii. ad ann. Abrahami* 1270), Hieronymus (*Onomastica*, ed. Lagarde, p. 66, cf. also p. 197), Epiphanius (*Haeres.* i. 9); cf. also De Saey, *Not. et Extr.* xii. p. 175. They were termed by the Jews בּוֹתִים, from Cutha, a

while into ruin, for it does not reappear in history till the time of Alexander the Great, when it was captured by him, part of the inhabitants put to the sword, others removed to Shechem, and a new colony introduced. Some frontier towns also were lost to Judaea at this time¹. It appears soon after to have been rebuilt by Perdiccas, but in 311, during the wars of Antigonus and Ptolemy Lagi, it suffered the demolition of its walls: restored again in a short time, it continued to exist till about B.C. 129, when it was taken and utterly destroyed by John Hyrcanus, the Jews retaining possession of the site². It was restored by Pompey to its former

district in Asia of doubtful locality, whence colonists, perhaps the most important, had been transplanted to Samaria by the king of Assyria (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 24). Abulfath, in his Chronicle (ed. Vilmar, p. lix), explains that in a persecution under Darins some Samaritan exiles fled from the Jews to the valley of Cutha, hence the name was fixed upon them in order to deprive the nation of that of 'Israelites.' On the position of Cutha, cf. De Saey, *Chrest. Arabe*, i. 331; Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, i. 473, iii. 598; Ewald, *Gesch.* (1866), iii. 727; Neubauer, *Géogr.* p. 379. According to Schrader, p. 164, it must be sought for in Mid-Babylonia.

¹ Eusebius, *Chron. ad ann. Abrahami* 1684; cf. Munk, *Palestine*, p. 485. This was in revenge for the murder of Andromachus, the Macedonian governor of Colesyria. Herzfeld, ii. 120.

² The 25th of Marheshwan was kept in memory of this; the 15th and 16th of Siwan in memory of the annexation of Bethshan and the plain of Jezreel; *Meg. Ta'anith*, 3, 8; Grätz, *Gesch.* (1863), iii. 422.

owners, and rebuilt by Gabinius a few years B.C., and somewhat later again fortified, colonised, and magnificently adorned by Herod the Great, receiving the name of Sebaste, in honour of Augustus, to whom a splendid temple was erected within the city. A Roman colony was planted there by Septimius Severus early in the third century, and coins are found extending from Nero to Geta, the brother of Caracalla¹. At what time Herod's magnificent erections were laid waste is not known. A bishop of Sebaste was present at the council of Nicaea in 325, and another at the synod of Jerusalem in 536. When the place fell into the hands of the Crusaders, a Latin bishopric was established there about 1155, the title of which was still kept up by the Roman Church till the fourteenth century. A small Arab village now occupies the site of the old town, traces of whose former grandeur are still visible in the stately remains of the church of St. John Baptist² and long rows of broken columns.

But more interest attaches to Shechem, the

¹ Or perhaps somewhat later to Alexander Severus, 222-235. Cf. De Sauley, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (1874), p. 281.

² St. Jerome gives Sebaste as the burial-place of St. John Baptist, as also of Elisha and Obadiah: later a tradition sprang up that it had been the scene of the Baptist's imprisonment and death also, whereas Josephus, followed by Eusebius, places these at Machaerus, on the east of the Dead Sea. Robinson, ii. 306.

modern Nablus¹, the principal centre of Samaritan life after the decline of Samaria, where still lingers on the feeble remnant of the last Samaritan community. Built upon a gentle slope at the foot of Mount Garizim, at a point where the mountain and the opposite height of Ebal enclose a valley of some 500 yards in breadth, Shechem, with its bright streams and luxuriant vegetation, has always drawn forth the warmest admiration of travellers². Its associations were especially sacred. Near it stood the oak of Moreh (Gen. xii. 6), the resting-place of Abraham; in the immediate vicinity of which was the parcel of ground (xlivi. 22) bought by Jacob from Hamor and given by him as a possession to Joseph; it is marked still by Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb. Here dwelt the patriarch till compelled to leave in fear of the consequences

¹ There seems to be no good reason for the identification of Shechem (in LXX, Σεχέμ and Σίκημα) with the Συχέρ of John, iv. 5. Eusebius and the Bordeaux pilgrim expressly distinguish them: see the ref. in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*, art. 'Sychar,' iii. 1395; Robinson, ii. 291; Neubauer, 169; Bargès, *Les Samaritains de Naplouse*, 10 sqq. Raumer identifies the latter with Askar, half an hour east of Nablus, whence apparently were named the plain and fountain Sahl-el-Asgar, and Ain-el-Asgar mentioned by Berggren (in which case the derivation from שָׁׁבֵר, the 'city of lies,' cf. Hab. ii. 18, suggested by Reland, or Lightfoot's from שָׁׁבֵר 'of drunkards,' cf. Isa. xxviii. 1, will fall through): but Robinson (iii. 133) demurs to this.

² See the interesting quotations in Smith's *Dict.* iii. 1236.

which might ensue from the vengeance taken upon Shechem by Levi and Simeon for the insult offered to their sister. Under the same oak which gave shelter to Abraham he buried the gods brought by his family from Mesopotamia (xxxv. 1-4). By the same, in all probability, was Abimelech made king¹. Near Shechem Joseph and his brethren fed their flocks²; from Ebal and Garizim were pronounced the curses and blessings of the Law³; on Ebal Joshua built an altar and set up stones on which were written the words of the Law⁴; at Shechem, which had been appointed a city of refuge and possession of the Levites, he gave his last warning to the assembled congregation of Israel, setting up as a witness a great stone 'under an oak which was by the sanctuary of the Lord⁵;' on Garizim was delivered Jotham's parable after Abimelech's slaughter of his brethren,

¹ Judg. ix. 6.

² Gen. xxxvii. 12.

³ Deut. xxvii. 11. For the account of an interesting experiment as to the acoustic capabilities of the spot, see Mills, *Nablus* (1864), p. 57. The voice of a reader can with ease be heard from one mountain to another, and there is ample space for the accommodation of a crowd like the Israelites.

⁴ Josh. viii. 30. The Samaritans charge the Jews with having altered Garizim to Ebal in Deut. xxvii. 4 out of spite to them, in order to rob Garizim of its honours. In the neighbourhood of Sichem they shew the tomb of Eleazar, Ithamar, Phinehas, Joshua, Caleb, the Seventy Elders, &c. Bargès, p. 15.

⁵ Josh. xxiv. 26.

the connivance of the inhabitants of Shechem in this deed of blood soon after returning on their own heads in the destruction of their city by Abimelech; hither came Rehoboam to receive the kingdom¹; and here for some time dwelt Jeroboam after his accession². The city no doubt suffered like others during the Assyrian invasion, but is mentioned as existing about 588³. It gained in importance by the erection of a temple on the neighbouring height of Garizim in opposition to that of Jerusalem, which lasted from about the time of Alexander the Great to B.C. 129, when it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus⁴. Later it acquired the name of Mabortha⁵ or Mamortha⁶, and, apparently under Vespasian, that of Flavia Neapolis⁷, whence

¹ 1 Kings xii. 1. ² 1 Kings xii. 25. ³ Jer. xli. 5.

⁴ The 21st of Khislew (or, according to *Bab. Yoma*, 69 a, the 25th of Tebeth) was long kept by the Jews in memory of this. *Meg. Ta'anith*, cap. 9.

⁵ Josephus, *B. J.* iv. 8. 1.

⁶ Pliny, *H. N.* v. 13. Olshausen suggests as the derivation of the name, Nablus being a halting-place between Jerusalem and Galilee; Neubauer, p. 172, *מִבְרָה*. Cf. 'Torberie,' the 'blessed,' as a name of Garizim mentioned by Masudi and Makrizi, *De Saey, Chrest. Arabe*, i. 303, 343.

⁷ Robinson (ii. 292) thinks the old city may have extended further eastwards than Neapolis (hence Eusebius' statement that Sichem was *ἐν προαστείοις Νέας πόλεως*), and now have disappeared entirely: to the same effect Ewald in *Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1865, p. 1671. Coins of the city are found from Titus

its modern name of Nablus is derived. Here our Lord made many converts¹, and here in all probability was founded a Church in apostolic times²: Justin Martyr, who suffered at Rome about 163, was a native of the place. A bishop of Neapolis was present at the council of Ancyra and Neocaesarea in 314, of Nicaea in 325, and at the synod of Jerusalem in 536³. After this brief survey of the country occupied of old by the Samaritan people, it is time to return to their history.

Disappointed in their wish to unite with the

(or Domitian) to Volusianus (A.D. 251-4), or Gallienus (253-68). The year 72 was termed the 'era of Neapolis,' probably in consequence of the ruin of Jerusalem and Judaea in 70-1. In the time of Hadrian a representation of Garizim first occurs on coins of the city, the temple having been rebuilt by him (*Chron. Sam.* cap. 47). The mountain is of conical shape, with two summits: on the one to the left appears a temple with columns in front and a long flight of steps leading up to it, as described by the Bordeaux pilgrim in 333; that on the right has a small edifice on it, without columns. Neapolis had received the 'jus Italicum' under the Flavian family, hence its name of 'Aurelia Flavia Neapolis.' Of this it was deprived by Septimius Severus (193-211) for supporting the cause of Pescennius Niger. Under the Emperor Philip (244-9) it became a Latin colony, receiving the title of 'Colonia Julia Sergia Neapolis.' De Sauley, p. 244 sq.

¹ John iv. 39-42.

² Acts viii. 25, ix. 31, xv. 3.

³ Robinson, ii. 293. The portal and other remains of the cathedral, which was dedicated to St. James the Less and is now converted into a mosque, are still to be seen. Bargès, p. 93.

Jewish exiles on the return of the latter from captivity in 536, the Samaritans succeeded in preventing the erection of the Temple for twenty years, and offered the same unrelenting opposition to Nehemiah when, in 445, he set about rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, which till now had lain in ruins. They welcomed with open arms any refugees from Jerusalem who, for crime or to escape the strict Mosaic rule there established, might wish to leave their country¹. No doubt the stern reforms introduced by Nehemiah on his second visit (chap. xiii) were highly distasteful to many who preferred the laxity which had crept in during his absence, and to these an asylum was always open at Shechem. The alienation between the two nations was finally completed when the Samaritans at last succeeded in erecting a rival temple² on Garizim and endeavoured to transfer thither the prestige of the older one of Jerusalem. The immediate occasion of the undertaking was the refusal of Manasseh, brother of Jaddua the

¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 8. 7.

² The date of the erection is doubtful. Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 8. 4) seems to place it in the reign of Darius Codomannus (335-330), the last king of Persia, but if the Sanballat he mentions is the same as in Neh. xiii. 28, the event should be placed under Darius Nothus (413-10); cf. Winer, *op. cit.*, art. 'Nehemias.' Jost (*Gesch.* i. 48, note 2) thinks the temple must be much earlier than Alexander.

high-priest and son-in-law to Sanballat the Samaritan governor, to dissolve his irregular marriage in obedience to the admonition of the Jewish elders. To reward him for his constancy, Sanballat exerted himself to erect a rival sanctuary, and there established him in the high-priesthood¹.

On the troubled scene of politics which opened after the death of Alexander the Samaritans suffered equally with the Jews from the cruelty and ambition of their ever-changing masters. They unfortunately served as the battle-field as well as the prize of victory to the holders of Syria and Egypt, and passed from the dominion of one sovereign to that of the other according as the tide of victory rolled hither or thither. From the peaceful rule of Laomedon, the governor of Syria, they passed into the hands of Ptolemy Lagi in 320, to fall under the dominion of Antigonus of Syria in 314. Three years later, by a sudden incursion, Ptolemy repossessed himself of his former conquest, but being compelled almost immedi-

¹ This temple the Jews termed פָּלָטָנוֹם (*Bereschith Rabba*, c. 81), signifying, according to Reland (*Garizim*, c. 3), πελέθον ναός, but the word is probably connected with πλάτανος, i.e. the אלה of Gen. xxxv. 4; cf. Frankel, *Einfluss d. palästin. Exegese*, p. 248. The Samaritans in turn stigmatised that of Jerusalem as יְרוּשָׁלָם or בֵּית קָלְקָלָה: by a play upon בְּמִכְתֵּשׁ they called it אֲרוּרִ שָׁלָם 'the cursed Salem.' Neubauer's *Chronicle, Journ. Asiat.* (1869), p. 402; see below, p. 125.

ately to retire, endeavoured to do as much mischief as possible to his enemy, and consequently before his departure razed the walls of Samaria and other fortified towns. In 301 he, by treaty, entered again into peaceable possession of the country, but, in 298, it underwent a cruel ravaging at the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus. Thenceforth, for many years, Palestine enjoyed a respite from trouble under the mild and beneficent rule of Egypt, and nothing more is heard of Samaria except petty squabbles with the neighbouring Jews during the sway of the feeble and avaricious high-priest Onias II, till the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, when a determined effort was made by this monarch to root out the worship of Jehovah and establish the ritual of Greece throughout his dominions. The conduct of the Samaritans at this juncture formed a marked contrast to the noble independence of the Jews in maintaining the faith of their fathers: they abjured all connection with Israel or its God, claimed to be Sidonians by origin, and requested that their temple might be dedicated to Zeus Hellenios¹. To one principle of conduct however, with rare exceptions, they always remained constant, to take the opposite side to the Jews and injure them to the

¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5. 5.

utmost of their ability. This at last drew down upon them the vengeance of John Hyrcanus, and the destruction of their temple about 129 B.C., followed by that of Samaria a few years later. The Samaritans responded by all the means of annoyance at their command, killing Galilean pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, and lighting sham beacon-fires in opposition to those kindled by the Jews as a signal to their distant brethren that the Paschal new moon had appeared. On one occasion it is related how a Samaritan succeeded in polluting the Temple on the eve of the Passover by scattering human bones over the pavement¹. The Gospel narrative shews that in our Lord's time there was a complete estrangement between the two nations: the very name of Samaritan had now become a term of abuse². When the independence of Judaea declined and Palestine passed under the Roman rule, matters began to look brighter for the Samaritan people. Pompey freed them from the Jewish yoke; Gabinius rebuilt and fortified Samaria; the national worship was restored, exiles suffered to return, and government by a council of elders established: the

¹ See ref. in Neubauer, *Géogr.* p. 166.

² John viii. 48. Cf. also Eccl. l. 25, 26 (where 'Seir' is possibly to be read for 'Samaria') and *Testamentum XII Putrum*, p. 564: "Ἐσται γὰρ ἀπὸ σήμερον Σικῆμ λεγομένη πόλις ἀσυνέτων.

reign of Herod the Great also, one of whose wives was a Samaritan, was marked by the execution of great public works for the embellishment of Samaria.

But the unquiet spirit which had distinguished the old tribe of Ephraim in former times, and is said even now to mark the modern inhabitants of Nablus¹, would not suffer the Samaritans to rest. Their history is a constantly recurring tale of insurrections, massacres, and bloody reprisals taken on them by the conquerors. The severity with which Pilate put down a tumultuous rising occasioned his recall². Under Vespasian a revolt was quelled with the loss of 11,600 persons³, and Sichem received a garrison and new name from the conqueror. It is uncertain whether they took any part in the Jewish revolt under Trajan⁴: in the terrible insurrection which a few years later burst out with such desperate violence under the

¹ Judg. viii. 1-3, xii. 1-6, 2 Sam. xix. 43; cf. Robinson, ii. 301.

² Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 4. 1, 2: a certain man promised to show them the sacred vessels hidden by Moses (or the high-priest Usi, who, according to the Samaritan book of Joshua, chap. 42, hid them 261 years after the entry into Canaan) under Garizim. The legend is borrowed from 2 Macc. ii. 5, where the prophet Jeremy does the same on Nebo.

³ Josephus, *B. J.* iii. 7. 32.

⁴ Juynboll, *Comment. in Hist. Gent. Sam.* p. 129.

leadership of Bar Cocheba in the reign of Hadrian the Samaritans apparently at first aided the Jews, but afterwards deserting their allies assisted the Romans in putting an end to the war, being rewarded at the hands of their conqueror by the restoration of their temple on Garizim¹. With the rest of the empire they benefited from the gentle rule of the Antonines. Under Commodus, Septimius Severus, Constantine and Constantius, their condition was unsatisfactory, but quieter times fell to their lot under Julian, Valentinian, and Valens; their fortunes varied under the later emperors. Laws unfavourably affecting their position were passed by Honorius in 404 and 418; Theodosius II in 426 took from them testamentary rights, and in 439 forbade them to exercise any office which dealt with the affairs of Christians; new synagogues also might not be erected².

The hatred with which they had formerly regarded their Jewish rivals began to concentrate itself upon the Christians, now that the new

¹ Juynboll, *Chron. Sam.* cap. 47; Bargès, p. 101; Ewald, vii. (1868), p. 409. Bettar is said to have fallen by Samaritan treachery: as to its position see Neubauer, *Géographie*, p. 103. In *Jer. Kidduschin*, iv. 1, it is said that thirteen places were merged among the Samaritans in the time of 'the destruction,' i.e. under Hadrian: this was done by them in order to avoid the fate of the Jews.

² Jost, *Gesch.* i. 76; Juynboll, *Comment.* p. 50.

faith had become that of the empire. In the year 484 while under the rule of Zeno they attacked the church at Nablus, maimed the bishop, and murdered many of the worshippers, committing the like atrocities at Caesarea also. Under Anastasius and Justinian fresh troubles broke out¹. In 529 a general revolt of the Samaritans took place against the Christians, whole villages were burnt, churches destroyed, and the worshippers tortured to death. The severity with which this was put down by Justinian, followed by the enactment of severe laws against them, completely crushed the Samaritan people². Many fled to Persia, many became Christians³. Henceforth they appear but little in history. In 636 they fell under Mohammedan rule when the conquest of Palestine was effected by the Khaliph Omar. After the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 by Godfrey de Bouillon and his allies, Nablus and the surrounding country

¹ Petermann, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*, xiii. p. 369.

² They were rendered incapable of holding public employments, or of acquiring property by inheritance or gift among themselves: their synagogues were to be destroyed and no new ones erected. Some of these provisions were relaxed a few years later: some time after again, they were ordered to undertake civic offices with duties attached to them, without however acquiring any of the corresponding rights. Their testimony against Christians could not be received. Jost, i. 78.

³ Robinson, ii. 294, 295.

came into the power of the Crusaders, and, with the exception of some temporary occupations by the Saracens¹, remained Christian till 1244, when it again became subject to Mohammedan rule by the complete and utter rout of the Christian forces at the fatal battle of Gaza. Brief notices of the Samaritans and their country appear in the works of Benjamin of Tudela (twelfth century) and Christian pilgrims and travellers², but little was known of them till the close of the sixteenth century, when Joseph Scaliger first opened communications with them, addressing a letter to the congregations at Nablus and Cairo³. Answers arrived in 1589, but not

¹ As, for instance, when Nablus was plundered during a temporary incursion of the Saracens in 1113, again by Saladin in 1184 after his repulse from Kerak, and in 1187 after his victory at Tiberias.

² Bargès, pp. 10 sq., 33 sq.; Robinson, ii. 297. Arabian writers often confound them with the Jews. Ibn Batuta (1326), while describing Nablus, does not mention them.

³ A careful description of the correspondence of the Samaritans with Europeans, from Scaliger to De Sacy, is given by the latter in *Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi*, vol. xii. (1831), together with the original texts and a translation of most of the letters: two (to Ludolf) were published by Cellarius, 1688; others are to be found in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, vols. ix. and xiii. One more has since been published by Heidenheim in his *Vierteljahrsschrift* (vol. i. p. 88), that of Meschalmah ben Ab Sechuah to the Samaritans of Europe, coming, as is supposed

till after Scaliger's death, and these passing into other hands the correspondence ceased. But in 1616, Pietro della Valle having in vain endeavoured at Cairo, Gaza, and Nablus, then centres of Samaritan life, to carry out the injunctions of De Sancy, then French ambassador at Constantinople, and procure a Samaritan Pentateuch, succeeded at last in purchasing one at Damascus, as also a translation of it into the Samaritan dialect. The publication of these excited great interest and provoked angry disputes as to their intrinsic value among the learned of Europe, but no further communications appear to have been opened with the Samaritans till 1671, when Huntington, the learned bishop of Raphoe, whose Oriental MSS. form part of the treasures of the Bodleian Library, paid a visit to Nablus, while holding the office of chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo. He found there a small community of thirty families, procured from them a Pentateuch, and in conjunction with Dr. Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, carried on a correspondence with

by the editor, between the correspondence of Scaliger and Huntington. Emendations of the text are suggested by Geiger in the *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xvi. 725, and by Vilmar, *ibid.* xvii. 375. The letters are written partly in Arabic, and partly in Hebrew marked by Samaritanisms and Arabisms; they display the most complete ignorance of all history and of everything outside the little community of Nablus.

them which lasted with intervals till the latter's death in 1685. About this time a few letters also passed between them and the celebrated Aethiopic scholar Job Ludolf, and then, with the exception of one letter addressed in 1790 to their 'Samaritan brethren' in France¹, nothing more is heard of them till 1808, when the bishop and senator Grégoire set about making enquiries with regard to them by means of the French consular agents in Syria. The information thus acquired and the communications which subsequently ensued between Salameh the high-priest and De Saey himself are contained in the memoir drawn up by the latter. They give the same picture as is presented by later travellers of a small community despised and ill-treated by Jew and Mahomedan², from the very fact of their present depressed con-

¹ Published by Hamaker in *Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis*, v. p. 56. Heidenheim, i. 82.

² A touching picture of the miseries undergone by the Samaritans during the first half of the present century from the cruelty and avarice of their ever-changing governors is given in the autobiography of Jacob-esh-Shelaby, London, 1855. He came at that time to England to collect funds for his impoverished countrymen and to intercede with the government on their behalf. A translation of his petition may be seen at p. 50. Another, to the government of Louis Philippe, is given with a translation in Bargès, p. 65 sq. See also his letter in the *Times* of April 3, 1874. The congregation is now reduced to 135 persons, and grievously oppressed by the Mohammedans.

dition clinging with all the greater obstinacy to their lofty traditions of the past and to the hope of future restoration to the Divine favour; with little or no education; depending for their history upon legendary mediaeval chronicles drawn in great measure from Jewish sources; for their religious knowledge, upon the successive gleanings of centuries from their Jewish rivals; yet interesting as the possessors of what they assert to be an independent revision of the Pentateuch, and as the sole remaining representatives of the people who have now for more than 2500 years claimed to be the chosen Israel of God¹. The correspond-

¹ Formerly there were flourishing communities of Samaritans in other countries besides Palestine. Alexander the Great is said to have settled his Samaritan auxiliaries at the siege of Tyre in Egypt (Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 8. 6): Ptolemy Lagi carried off considerable numbers with him (*ib.* xii. 1), other colonists probably followed during the troublous times of John Hyrcanus: a dispute between the Alexandrian Jews and Samaritans is said (*ib.* xiii. 3. 4) to have taken place before Ptolemy Philometor (181-146): here the Samaritan-Greek version of the Pentateuch in all probability and the Arabic of Abu-Said were composed. A sect of Dositheans is mentioned there in the sixth century A. D., and some remnants of the people lingered on there till the seventeenth. A colony of Samaritans was found by Edrisi in the twelfth century in islands in the Red Sea, where they are said to have taken refuge after the Arab invasion of Egypt in 638. Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra (טיריה or בולטיריה, not מלטיה, Malta or Toledo, as Heidenheim supposes, cf. Biscioni, *Catal. Medic.* p. 128, and Zunz in Asher's *Benjamin of Tudela*

ence is of high value for the light it throws on the later developements of Samaritan doctrine,

(1841), ii. 267) found fifty Samaritan families in Egypt on the occasion of his visit there in 1480. They hold, he says, partly to the written Law, but are idolaters ; their writing is different to that of the Jews, and they have no **ב**, **נ**, **י**, **ש**, **כ**, **מ** (cf. as to this last statement *Benjamin of Tudela*, i. 67 ; Isaac Helo, A. D. 1344, in Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 252, and Makrizi, in De Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*, i. 303) ; they go in pilgrimage thrice each year to Garizim, where a golden dove may be seen on the altar ; they live apart from the Jews, having a separate synagogue ; the Sabbath they observe only to mid-day. See his letter in Heidenheim, iii. 354. He was probably the same that Obadiah of Bertinoro met on his journey to Jerusalem seven years later, cf. Neubauer's *Zwei Briefe Obadiah's in Jahrb. für d. Gesch. d. Juden.* (1863), iii. 198, 229. The latter (*ibid.* 241, 243) gives much the same account : he found fifty Samaritan families in Cairo, employed chiefly as cashiers and agents for the principal officials, occupations in which they acquired considerable wealth. The anonymous traveller of 1495, whose narration is given *ibid.* p. 271 sq., visited Sichem, but makes no mention of the Samaritans, his whole mind being apparently taken up with endeavours to avoid the extortions of custom-house officials. In the third and following centuries they seem to have been widely scattered in both East and West, employing themselves chiefly as merchants and money-changers : in the time of Theodosius (493-526) they had a synagogue in Rome. A colony of Samaritans is mentioned as existing in the fourth century at Babylon (*Gittin*, 45 a). Benjamin of Tudela in the twelfth century found communities in Caesarea, Nablus, Askalon, and Damascus : the great number of MSS. written at the last-named place shews that it must have been an important centre for them. The chronicle *El-Tholidoth* (see below, p. 126)

and also of interest as shewing the intellectual condition of this once numerous and powerful but now nearly extinct religious sect. The later descriptions of modern travellers, such as Robinson, Petermann, and others, shew that few changes have since passed over the little community.

II. In the preceding historical sketch the reader will no doubt have observed the extreme paucity, or rather the almost total absence, of any trustworthy information derivable from the Samaritans themselves as to the circumstances of their origin and early condition; and for this reason will expect no very exact account of the tenets held by them in the earlier ages of their national existence. Even with the fullest details at our disposal, nothing very definite or distinctive in the way of religious belief would in all probability have been found existing among them. For it must be remembered that they were a population consisting of the poorest Israelites, who had been left behind by their conquerors as politically too insignificant to be worth the trouble of removing from their

gives the names of many families settled in Damascus, Palestine, and Egypt. Cf. Robinson, ii. 293, 300; Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs* (1716), ii. 140-142, 152; Jnynboll, *Comment.* pp. 37-54; in the last very full references will be found. In a prayer given by Heidenheim (*Vierteljahresschr.* i. 418) supplications are offered for the Samaritan congregations in Damascus, Gaza, Philistia, Egypt, Aleppo, Hamath, Sefad, and Haſerim.

land ; they had moreover, after long centuries of corruption by means of state idolatry and devotion to the cruel and licentious rites of Baal, Ashtoreth, and other monstrous deities, afterwards been recruited from time to time by the arrival of fresh parties of foreign idolaters. The nation had indeed, under the influence of fear, partially abjured their idolatry and professed the worship of Jehovah, so much so as to be anxious to unite with the returning Jews in rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, in all probability however their religious views had at this time gained no great depth or distinctness. But the refusal of the national party among the Jews to recognise them as in any way belonging to Israel must have compelled the Samaritans to consider their religious position, to test the validity of the claims put forth by them, and to shew both by their faith and practice that they, and not their rivals of Jerusalem, were the true disciples of Moses. By themselves however they were unable, from lack of the necessary learning, to carry out their purpose, and it will be seen from several instances which will be brought forward, that the Samaritans, powerless to invent, were compelled to borrow the doctrines and usages then in vogue at Jerusalem.

No one will be surprised at this who considers the intimate relations which were from the first

maintained between their leaders and a powerful section of the Jews. It was in vain that Ezra, aided by such as had 'separated themselves' from the heathen of the land, dissolved by force the marriages which had taken place between the latter and numberless priests and rulers of Jerusalem. A few years later the mischief had not abated: Nehemiah complains that his plans were betrayed by the nobles of Judah, who had allied themselves with the enemy; his last work was to purify the Temple from the presence of Tobiah the Ammonite who had established himself there with the assistance of Eliashib the high-priest, and to expel the grandson of the latter for his marriage with Sanballat's daughter. These temporary checks caused by the zeal of Ezra and Nehemiah being removed, no doubt such alliances became frequent as before, and although the influence of the national party at Jerusalem was sufficient to prevent a complete fusion of the two nations, yet a most intimate connection must have been kept up between certain members of each, and thus the Law and the prevailing interpretation of it have readily passed from Jerusalem into the opposite camp. More especially after the secession of Manasseh and his establishment as rival high-priest in the Temple of Garizim, must all the then existing Jewish learning have been at the disposal of

the Samaritans. To understand their position therefore it will be necessary to enquire what was the state of religious parties and what the tone of thought which after the return from the exile prevailed in Jerusalem.

It was not apparently till the pontificate of John Hyrcanus, about B.C. 130, that the two rival factions of Pharisees and Sadducees¹ made their appearance under these names in history. But they must have existed long before: there was nothing, as far as we know, in the special circumstances of the time which could have then produced them: the principles which actuated their conduct must have been at work in the nation in the preceding centuries as well. The government had all along been in the hands of the high-priest and the other sacerdotal families to whom he was related; to these would naturally ally themselves the other wealthy classes in the state. In the hands of this, the Sadducee party, would be all judicial and administrative posts, the arrangement of the calendar on which all the feasts of the year depended, the conduct of the services of the Temple, the authoritative exposition of the

¹ Derenbourg (*Palestine*, i. 78, 452) thinks that Pharisee and Sadducee were nicknames, invented long after the qualities of *Perishouth* and *Sedaqah* had become the characteristics of the two parties. See also Grätz, *Gesch.* (1863), iii. 454, sq.

Law. Whatever might be the merits of individual members of the body, such as Jaddua and Simon the Just, still the tendency of a privileged and wealthy class always would be to take life quietly, to content themselves with following the requirements of the Law as far as the letter and ancient tradition required them (in other words to comply with *Sedaqah*), but not to invent rigorous observances which would interfere with the indulgence of those tastes which their wealth and position enabled them to enjoy. Their interpretation of the Law was characterised by the same spirit. Though not always consistent in carrying out the principle, still as a rule they clung to the literal meaning, allowing the authority of no tradition unless some ground was apparent for it in Scripture¹. The official sanctity of the priesthood, as distinguished from the personal purity of its members, and the maintenance of its emoluments and privileges were eagerly contended for by them. Their disbelief in the resurrection of the body, which is expressly affirmed of them by all ancient testimony², was due pos-

¹ Jost, *Gesch.* i. 214.

Matt. xxii. 23; Mark xii. 18; Luke xx. 27; Acts iv. 2, xxiii. 8; *Bab. Sanhedrin*, 90b; Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 1. 4; Origen, *In Matt.* pp. 467, 811; Epiphanius, *Haeres.* xiv, &c. The celebrated Antigonus of Socho is said to have taught that 'men should serve God without any claim for reward;' from this doctrine

sibly to the almost exclusive attention which their principles led them to give to the Pentateuch (in which this doctrine less clearly stands forth) in preference to the later books of the canon, and also to the easy circumstances of life in which most of this party found themselves.

The Pharisees, or 'Separatists,' were of a different spirit. They were the descendants and representatives of the national party who at the bidding of Ezra and Nehemiah had 'separated' themselves from the heathen of the land, while many of the priests and rulers had not scrupled to ally themselves with the ancient and deadly foes of Israel. Though differing in no very important particulars from the Sadducees either in doctrine or practice, they found themselves outside the pale of an official and priestly aristocracy, and were thus compelled to throw themselves for support and sympathy upon the middle and lower classes of the community. Having no official character for sanctity on which to depend, they laid especial

his scholars Šadoq and Boethus developed the further result that 'no reward is to be expected from God,' and this was naturally followed by a disbelief in the resurrection and future judgment. The Boethusians first appear as an offshoot from, but united with, the Sadducees, about the time of Herod the Great; the exact points of difference between the parties are difficult to distinguish. Geiger, *Urschrift*, 105, 149; Jost, *Gesch.* i. 215.

stress upon personal purity, avoiding contact with any person or thing which might interfere with it; by means of brotherhoods¹ and minute regulations endeavouring continually to reach higher degrees of it, extending their care even to all vessels used in the Temple service, on the plea that they might have been defiled by the touch of an unclean priest². In imitation of the grave and reverend banquets held by the priests at which their portion of the sacrifices, the tithes and offerings were consumed, the Pharisees established brotherhoods for taking solemn meals together, hallowed by special prayers, especially on sabbaths and feast-days³: in the same spirit

¹ Jost, *Gesch.* i. 197.

² This circumstance shews that some priests must have belonged to the party of the Pharisees, though these probably were few as compared with those who joined the Sadducees. The touching of the Law rendered any one unclean: Derenbourg, i. 133. On one occasion a Sadducee seeing them bathing the golden candlestick, exclaimed, 'See! the Pharisees will at last purify the sun!' Jost, i. 217. Cf. Mark vii. 4.

³ The device by which the Pharisees evaded the two prohibitions of not going more than 2000 cubits from home and of not carrying anything out of their houses on the Sabbath, was worthy of the legal ingenuity of a more civilised age. By placing some food on the eve of the Sabbath at a spot 2000 cubits from their real home, they created there a fictitious domicile, whence they might move in any direction 2000 cubits more. Each of the brethren, moreover, at the same time placed some

of rivalry they endeavoured to curtail the emoluments and privileges of the priesthood¹. Their interpretation of the Law was marked by a reverence for tradition and by an absence of the strict adherence to the letter which distinguished their rivals². Their method of life was rigorously simple, spent in carrying out the minute observances of religion: they held the doctrine of the resurrection and of a future reward and punishment³. This zeal was roused to fury by witnessing the disgraceful pontificates of Jason and Menelaus, when the rites of Zeus Olympius were celebrated in the Temple itself, and a determined attempt made by these apostates to trample down obedience to the Law of Moses, and in its place to introduce the sensuous ritual of Greece. By an energetic exercise of the influence which they possessed over the people they must have greatly contributed to the success of the Maccabees in their war of independence; but when the victory was once gained, there was but little place for them in the Court of the Asmo-

food in the common hall, thus a sort of community of houses was imagined, and by joining the ends of the streets with beams and ropes the whole city was made as it were one house. This was termed the '*Erubh*'. Derenbourg, i. 143.

¹ For instances see *ibid.* 135.

² *Ibid.* 138.

³ For Josephus' account of them see *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3; also xiii. 5. 9; xvii. 2. 4; *B. J.* ii. 8. 14; i. 5. 2.

nean princes, filled as it was with warriors and priestly allies; so they retired to their old and simple life among the people. The struggle between the two parties went on till the fall of Jerusalem, the Pharisees continually gaining more and more advantages over their rivals: with the ruin of the Temple and the cessation of its services the Sadducees disappear from history, all the teaching and interpretation of the Law falling into the hands of the Pharisees, or Rabbanites as they were afterwards termed. Thus matters went on till A.D. 754, when, at the very moment when the labours of the two schools of the Geonim appeared to have established Rabbinism on a firmer basis than ever, the celebrated Anan ben David raised his voice against the system then in vogue, utterly denying the right of tradition either to supplement or interpret the written word, asserting the sole authority of the Law, the unchanging character of its precepts, and the necessity of seeking the explanation of it in the book itself¹. Thus after the lapse of nearly seven centuries was the old method of interpretation revived, and the obsolete

¹ Jost, ii. 294. Here is to be found a very full account of the literature and dogmas of the Karaites. See also Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, 88 sqq. They assumed the name as being skilful 'readers' or interpreters of the 'literal meaning' of the Law.

teaching of the Sadducees and Samaritans repeated in the Karaite school of Bagdad.

A few instances may be of interest, though the subjects in dispute were not such as modern theology takes much account of. The fruit of a young tree in the fourth year belongs, according to the old interpretation of Lev. xix. 23, 24, to the priest, from whom it must be redeemed by the owner; in this both Samaritans and Karaites agree, while a later explanation directs that the fruit or the value of it be consumed by the owner in person at Jerusalem¹. According to the ancient interpretation of Lev. xxvii. 30; Deut. xiv. 22; xxvi. 12 and xiv. 28, two tenths of the fruit of trees and fields must every third year be given to the Levites and poor, a third consumed by the owners in Jerusalem; this last direction is not maintained by later doctors, only by Samaritans and Karaites². Samaritans, Sadducees, and Karaites agree in deducing from Lev. iii. 9 that the tail part of sheep belongs to the priest alone, and may be consumed by no one else, whereas the Rabbanites make no such restriction³. When in Exod. xl. 31 priestly functions are attributed to Moses, the Samaritans alter the text so as to ascribe them to Aaron alone, and thus heighten the dignity of the latter⁴. For fear of irrever-

¹ Geiger, *Urschrift*, 181.

² *Ibid.* 176.

³ *Ibid.* 467.

⁴ *Ibid.* 381.

ence, the term ha-Shem was in reading substituted by early doctors for the sacred name Jehovah whenever it occurred; this custom was afterwards given up, and later again the name Adonai substituted; the Samaritans still cling to the old habit, employing the term Shemâ¹. In order to avoid anything approaching to an indelicacy of expression, the Samaritans interpret בְּנֵי לֹהֶת in Exod. xx. 26 (neither shalt thou go up 'by steps' unto my altar), 'with craft,' as if from לֹהֶת, and this rendering has been revived by the Karaites². The Samaritans allow the directions in Deut. xxv. 5 to be carried out only in the case of a betrothed, not actually married, brother's wife, and with them agree the Karaites³. The decision as to the exact moment at which the new moon appeared, on which depended the time of all the other feasts, was formerly in the hands of the Sadducees. Gradually the Pharisees wrested this power from them, and out of spite the Samaritans and Boethusians endeavoured by false signals and suborned witnesses to stultify the official intimations of their antagonists. The Samaritans and Karaites imitate the Boethusians in counting forward to Pentecost in Christian fashion, not from the Sabbath following the first day of the Passover, but from the day after the Sabbath, in oppo-

¹ Geiger, *Urschrift*, 262.

² *Ibid.* 395.

³ *Ibid.* 235.

sition to the Pharisee rule¹. The same agreement between Samaritans and Karaites in opposition to the Pharisees is to be found in their use of the skin of a properly-killed animal only, not of an unclean one or of carrion²; in allowing no fire to burn through the Sabbath³; nor any one to move from home on that day⁴; nor any cooking to be done on festivals⁵: they do not permit a dying animal to be killed and eaten, and hold that the unborn young found in a slain animal has a separate existence and so must be properly slaughtered: the high-priest may, according to them, marry only a virgin (not widow) of priestly family⁶.

In other and more important points also the

¹ Geiger, *Urschrift*, 137.

² Geiger, in *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xvi. 718. Petermann, in *Herzog's Real-Encyclop.* xiii. 383, mentions that when they go in procession to Garizim they only use shoes made of leather from lambs killed by themselves; so the famous copy of the Law at Nablus is said to be written on skins of rams which have served as thank-offerings.

³ *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xx. 532. For their later practice, cf. Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, ix. 32; De Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* xii. 124.

⁴ *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xx. 535. As to the Pharisee rule, see above, p. 34.

⁵ *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xx. 536.

⁶ *Ibid.* 561. Frankel (*Einfluss*, 252) believes that some practices of the Samaritans were borrowed directly from the Karaites.

Samaritans seem to have borrowed Sadducean theology; for instance, a denial of the resurrection is expressly affirmed of them in the *Siphré* and *Massekheth Kuthim*, a testimony borne out by the evidence of the Fathers as well¹. Whence or at what time they adopted a belief in a coming Messiah² is not clear, possibly from their Jewish neighbours; as however he was to be a son of Joseph, not of David, it is more probable that the idea had its origin among the Samaritans themselves, and was due to their anxiety to exalt the tribe of Joseph at the expense of Judah³. There was but one point in which they could not accept the creed of their neighbours, and that was the choice by God of Judah as the ruling tribe and Jerusalem as the centre of the national religion⁴. For this reason probably they were compelled to reject all the later books of the canon, and retain only

¹ *Siphré* (on Numb. xv. 31); *Massekheth Kuthim*, see below, p. 172; Derenbourg, i. 130. Cf. R. Elieser in *Bab. Sanhedrin*, 90b; Epiphanius, *Haeres.* ix and xiv; Leontius, *De Sectis*, viii; Gregorius Magnus, *Moral.* i. 15, &c.

² John iv. 25.

³ See below, p. 69.

⁴ They could not admit the assertion of the Psalmist that the Lord ‘refused the tabernacle of Joseph and chose not the tribe of Ephraim, but chose the tribe of Judah, even the hill of Sion which He loved: and there He built His Temple on high, and laid the foundation of it like the ground which He hath made continually. He chose David also His servant . . . that he might feed Jacob His people, and Israel His inheritance?’ Ps. lxxviii. 68–72.

the Pentateuch and a mutilated portion of Joshua¹. In these there was little to wound their susceptibilities: Ephraim was still an honoured and powerful tribe, the place which God would ‘choose to put His name there’ was still left undetermined²: nothing was needed but a few slight alterations which should depress the hated sanctuary of Moriah and establish the glory of its rival of Garizim³.

From the foregoing sketch therefore it appears

¹ Jost (*Gesch.* i. 53, note) thinks the Samaritans rejected all but the Pentateuch from ignorance of them as being written in a character they did not understand. Loewe (in *Allgem. Zeitung d. Judenthums* for April 18, 1839) asserts that he found the books of Kings and Song of Songs among them. The anonymous commentary described below, p. 134, quotes from the prophets, &c.

² But in Deut. xii. 14 they read רְחִיבָה for רְחִיבָה; cf. Ex. xx. 24.

³ In Gen. xxxiii. 18 the Samaritans read סָלִים for שְׁכֵן, ‘Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem,’ instead of ‘to Salem a city of Shechem,’ in order to bar the Jewish interpretation of Jerusalem being here intended. The place is identified by Robinson (ii. 279) with Sâlim near Nablus. In Deut. xxvii. 4 they read ‘Garizim’ for ‘Ebal,’ inserting vv. 2–8 and xi. 30 as an additional commandment after Exod. xx. 17 and Deut. v. 21, and adding in xi. 30 the words ‘opposite Shechem,’ to make certain of its identification, the Jews having asserted that the Garizim and Ebal mentioned in the Pentateuch were not those belonging to the Samaritans: (*Sota*, 33 b; *Jer. Sota*, vii. 3; and *Siphré* on Deut. xi. 30). For other examples of changes made by the Samaritans see Kohn, *De Pent. Sam.* 11 sqq. That ‘Ebal’ must be the true reading of Deut. xxvii. 4 is well maintained by Friedrich (*De Christologia Samaritanorum*, 57) against Kennicott.

to be abundantly evident that the Samaritans were in no degree the inventors of any part of their theology, that they borrowed it wholly from their neighbours, merely rejecting such parts as did not square with their prepossessions, and that they doggedly held on to the old traditional interpretations, when these had been left by their rivals centuries behind. They did, it is true, modify and enlarge their creed, and that in important particulars, at a later period of their history, but then, as before, by the same process of absorption ; it was in no sense a development of the religious feeling of the people.

The statements of Jewish writers throw but little light upon Samaritan theology, nor are they by any means uniform in their tenour. In some passages of the Talmud, for instance, the Samaritans are looked upon as Israelites by reason of their religious observances, and credited with even greater conscientiousness in carrying them out than the Jews themselves¹ ; on account indeed of their misinterpretation of Deut. xxv. 5 marriage with them is forbidden, and their slavish adherence to the letter of Scripture is reprehended, but their orthodoxy is extolled with regard to unleavened bread, slaughtering of cattle², pollu-

¹ *Holin*, 4 a.

² *Holin*, 3 a. So in John iv. 8 the disciples do not scruple to buy food of the Samaritans.

tion from dead bodies or graves, and purifications ; their testimony also is to be admitted in matters of divorce¹ : while in other passages they are excluded altogether from the community of Israel and their very bread forbidden. It is uncertain when this change of feeling took place and to what it was due². No charges of any weight are made against them, merely vague statements such as these ; 'Formerly the Kuthim were plunged in false beliefs, though they observed the Mosaic law ; now they have no idea of it³' . R. Elieser ben Arakh relates at full length how a curse was pronounced upon them with all solemnity by Ezra, Zerubbabel, the high-priest Joshua, and six hundred of his attendant priests : no Israelite was to eat with them ; to do so would be as if

¹ Neubauer, *Géographie*, 165 ; Frankel, *Vorstudien*, 197 ; *Einfluss*, 245, where are very full Talmudical references ; Winer, *Real-W.-B.* ii. 371, 372.

² Frankel (*Einfluss*, 248) attributes it to the influence of R. Simon ben Elieser (*Jer. Yebam.* i. 6), perhaps the same as Elieser ben Simon (*Sota*, vii. 3), who reported to R. Meir, in the second century A. D., the Samaritans' falsification of the Pentateuch, whereupon the latter excommunicated them. R. Simon ben Gamaliel, a contemporary of his, held the Samaritans in great respect, but his son R. Jehuda ha-Nasi considers them as heathen, and is borne out in this by his friend R. Ismael ben Jose. After the time of Diocletian they seem to have been quite excluded from Israel.

³ R. Simon, in *Jer. Pesahim*, i. 1.

he ate swine's flesh: no Samaritan was to be received as a proselyte: none would have a share in the resurrection of the dead¹. The ground of this exclusion is variously stated: generally they are charged with the worship of a dove², an accusation which originated as early as the second century A.D., is repeated again in a commentary of Rashi³, revived by Maimonides⁴, and reasserted as late as 1808, though repudiated with horror by the Samaritans themselves⁵. Or it is alleged against them that in the time of Diocletian they denied their Jewish origin and offered libations to heathen deities, a charge which must be received with considerable caution⁶. Similar accusations and apparently equally destitute of proof are, that they worshipped one of the idols hidden by Jacob under the oak by Shechem⁷, or those

¹ *Pirke R. Eliezer*, cap. 38. Cf. Beer, *Gesch. Lehren*, &c., i. 35.

² *Holin*, f. 6, et al.

³ On *Bib. Aboda Zara*, 26b; 'The Samaritans circumcise in the name of the image of a dove,' quoted in Drusius, *Observat.* xiii. 24.

⁴ On *Mishna Berakhoth*, viii. 8, in Reland, *De Samaritanis*, iii. So Obadiah de Bertinoro, on *Mishna Berakhoth*, vii. 1. Cf. Friedrich, *op. cit.* pp. 80 sq., and above, p. 27.

⁵ De Saey, *Not. et Extr.* xii. 19, 43, 70, sqq. Cf. Herzfeld, iii. 596. Josephus knows nothing of it. The colonists *may* have brought the worship of a dove with them from Nineveh; see references in Herzfeld.

⁶ Jost, i. 61, from *Jer. Aboda Zara*, v. 4.

⁷ *Jer. Aboda Zara*, v. 4; Gen. xxxv. 4.

of the Samaritan colonists which were buried under Garizim¹; or that they circumcised in honour of Mount Garizim², or that they wrote Ashima for Elohim in Gen. i. 1³, or that they were no genuine worshippers of Jehovah, only lion-converts⁴: charges which the Samaritans were not slow in retorting, accusing their adversaries in turn of anthropomorphism and anthropopathism because they left untouched such passages in the Pentateuch as seem to ascribe human acts and feelings to the Deity⁵.

The testimony of the Fathers with regard to the Samaritans' disbelief in the resurrection of the body has been already quoted; from the same source we also learn their denial of the existence of angels, and of the immortality of the

¹ Epiphanius, *Haeres.* ix.

² R. Jehuda, in *Massekheth Kuthim*; see below, p. 169.

³ Aben Ezra, in Introduction to *Comment. on Esther*. It was probably from some Jewish legend that Mohammed relates in the Koran (*Sura*, 20) how a certain Sameri (Samaritan) made the golden calf in the wilderness and was punished by Moses with having to cry *lā mesāsa* (touch me not) to the end of his life. Masudi and Biruni say the Samaritans still used these words in their time (tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.); De Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*, i. 304, 343; cf. Abulfath, *Ann.* p. 175.

⁴ *Bab. Baba Kama*, 38 b.

⁵ They themselves were careful to change them; see below, p. 135.

soul¹; and also gain some information with regard to the several sects which made their appearance among them; these notices are supported by the statements of Mohammedan writers and of the Samaritans themselves. It may be as well in this place to say a few words about them before noticing the later developments of Samaritan theology.

The most important information on the subject is derived from St. Epiphanius in the fourth century A.D. He mentions² four different sects, the Essenes, Sebuaeans, Gorthenians, and Dositheans. With regard to the first of these bodies nothing further is known, it is however possible that there may have been separatists known under the name among the Samaritans. If so, they were probably an offshoot from the Dositheans, just as the Jewish Essenes were from the Pharisees; for

¹ Origen, *In Matt.* p. 811; Leontius, *De Sectis*, 8; cf. Acts xxiii. 8, as to the Sadducean disbelief in angels. Makrizi, in De Saey, *op. cit.* p. 306, says, 'the Zanādiqāta (i. e. Sadducees) are of the nation of the Samaritans, sprung from the Sadducees; they deny angels and the resurrection after death, and all prophets but Moses.'

² *Haeres.* i. p. 28: he is followed by St. John Damascenus, *De Haeres.* p. 79, and Nicetas, *Thesaur.* i. 35. For the whole subject see Basnage, livr. ii. chap. 13; Juynboll, *Chron. Sam.* 112. Epiphanius strangely asserts (*Haeres.* p. 469) that in his day a feast was held in the summer at Sebaste in honour of Jephthah's daughter, to whom divine honours were paid: a statement which he repeats (p. 1055) with reference to Neapolis.

as the tenets of the latter were a protest against the literal interpretation¹ and negative teaching of the Sadducees, so the Dositheans appear to have had much in common with the Pharisees, and to have in like manner entered the lists in opposition to the Sadducean teaching which, as we have seen before, prevailed in their nation. Nor is the information with regard to the Sebuæans² more satisfactory: they are said to have

¹ Abulpharaj, a Christian writer who died in 1286 (*Hist. Dyn.* p. 116), makes the Samaritans a Jewish sect who received the Law alone and interpreted it in its literal sense. Juynboll, *Chron. Sam.* 111.

² The origin of their name has been sought in סְבָא, who, according to the *Tanhuma*, sect. *Wayyeschebh*, and the *Yalqut*, ii. 234, was one of the two Israelite priests sent by the king of Assyria to instruct the Samaritans at the time of the lion-plague. Sebuæans are mentioned in the Chronicle of Abulfath as opponents of Baba Rabba, the Samaritan reformer about 250 A.D. Sabbaeus was a name in use among the Egyptian Samaritans (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 3. 4). Cf. Herzfeld, iii. 599, for another explanation and an account of these sects. Herzfeld connects the name with their peculiar keeping of Pentecost. Ewald, *Gesch.* (1868), vii. 135, identifies them with the *Masbothaei* of Hegesippus, the *Basmothaei* of *Const. Apost.* vi. 1, the *Fasquṭai* of Abulfath. He derives their name from the stress they laid upon the number 'seven,' as, for instance, in the observance of that number of feasts. Petermann (in Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* xiii. 387) could gain no information from the modern Samaritans with regard to any of the foregoing sects. From the subscription of a MS. dated 1513 it has been supposed that

distinguished themselves by commencing the year in the early autumn: soon after this they held the feast of unleavened bread, Pentecost later, and that of Tabernacles in the spring, when the Jews were celebrating their Easter: these changes were made by them out of animosity to Ezra, and to avoid quarrels with the Jewish pilgrims who were passing through Samaria on their way to Jerusalem. Of the Gorthenians, termed Sorothenians by Nicetas, nothing whatever is known¹. With regard to the last of the four sects and their leader Dositheus, it is impossible to reconcile the discordant testimony of Jewish, Christian, Mohammedan, and Samaritan writers².

a sect of Mûsawî existed at Damaseus, and that they may have been connected with Mesawi of Baalbek who lived in the twelfth century, whose tenets bore some resemblance to those of the Druses. Cf. Jost, i. 68. But it is more probable that the name signified orthodox Samaritans, 'followers of Moses.' Cf. Juynboll, *Chron. Sam.* p. 37; *Comment.* p. 60.

¹ Hegesippus (in Eusebius, *Hist.* iv. 22) makes them post-Christian heretics, deriving their name from a certain Gortheus: Theodoret (*Haer. Fab.* i. 1) considers them followers of Simon Magus.

² At least three Dosithei, if not more, are mentioned by other writers besides those cited in the text. (1) Dostai the son of Jannai, sent to Samaria by Sennacherib, with Sabbai another Israelite priest, at the time of the lion-plague. *Tanhuma*, *l. c.*; *Yalqut*, *l. c.*; *Pirke Elieser*, cap. 38. (2) Also b.c. Philastrius (*Haeres.* 4) says he was a Jew, the teacher of Sadoq. He

St. Epiphanius relates of them that they were believers in the resurrection, and austere in their

held the Law was to be obeyed only according to the flesh, denied the resurrection, Holy Spirit, angels, and last judgment. (3) A post-Christian heretic mentioned by Hegesippus (in Eusebius, *Hist.* iv. 22) and Hippolytus (*ibid.* vi. 22; Photius, *Biblioth.* 121). According to the *Clementine Recognitions*, ii. 8, *Hom.* ii. 24, he was the teacher of Simon Magus, to whom he had to resign his claim to be the Messiah. The testimony of the *Apost. Const.* vi. 8, and Theodoret, *Haeres.* i. 1, is to the same effect. Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria in 608, was called upon to settle a dispute between the Dositheans and other Samaritans of his day. Photius (*Biblioth.* 230), in describing this, also makes him coeval with Simon Magus; he calls him an insulter of God's prophets, especially of the patriarch Judah. His followers held him, the other Samaritans held Joshua, to be the prophet promised by Moses. He denied the resurrection, corrupted the Mosaic Octateuchus [so], applied the prophecies to himself, &c. Origen (*Adv. Cels.* i. 57, vi. 11; *in Matt.* p. 851, and *in Joann.* xiii. 27) says Dositheus made himself the Messiah, the Son of God. His followers, who were almost extinct in Origen's time, still had his writings, and believed him to be alive. He ridicules the sect (*De Princip.* iv. 17) for their excessive strictness in observing the Sabbath. Tertullian (*De Praescript. Haeret.* 45) says Dositheus was the first who dared to reject the prophets. St. Jerome (*Adv. Lucifer.* p. 197) follows him; but whether they are speaking of (2) or (3) is doubtful: probably of (2), as they make the Sadducees an off-shoot of the Dositheans.

So much for Jewish and Christian testimony; that of Mohammedan writers is not more satisfactory. According to Masudi (who died in 956 A. D.; cf. De Sacy, *Chrestom. Arabe*, i. 305), there were two sects of Samaritans, Couschan and Rouschan

manner of life, avoiding animal food, some marrying but once, others not at all: as to the observance of circumcision, the Sabbath, avoiding contact with others, fasting and penance, they were not distinguishable from the other Samaritans. Their founder was, he continues, a Jew who for his learning aspired to be chief among his party, but being disappointed in his ambitious schemes, went over to the Samaritans and founded a sect: later he retired to a cave and there starved himself to death out of affected

(corrected by De Saey to Cuthâna and Dustâna; but according to Juynboll, *Chron. Sam.* 112, the former word signifies 'truth-telling,' not 'Cuthite'); one of these held the world for eternal, i. e. uncreated. Sharastâni (ed. Haarbrücker, Th. i. p. 257), two centuries later, also divides the Samaritans into Dûsitâniya or Ilfanija ('lying separatists') and Kûsâniya ('true people'), the latter believing in a future life and rewards and punishments, the former confining them to this world: the two parties differed in their legal rules and ordinances. Al-Ilfan said he was the prophet foretold by Moses, the 'Star:' he lived about 100 years before the Messiah. (The name Ilfan probably signifies that he was a millenarian; cf. Vilmar's *Abulfath*, p. lxxii, note: or 'a strict observer' [حلف] of the Law.) To the same effect is the testimony of Abulfeda, two centuries later, in De Saey, *op. cit.* p. 344. He mentions Dostani or Fani and Cousani, the former denying future rewards and punishments, the latter admitting them. The quotation by Abraham Echellensis from an Arab-Samaritan Chronicle in Cardinal Mazarin's library, to be found in De Saey, *op. cit.* 337, is probably from Abulfath. Cf. Vilmar's *Abulfath*, p. xvii.

piety. This account, it will be noticed, mentions but one Dositheus and one party named after him. But as the preponderance of evidence is in favour of there having been at least two heresiarchs of the name, and two sects taking their title from them, it will perhaps be best to acquiesce in this conclusion, more especially as it agrees with the account transmitted to us by the native Samaritan chronicler Abulfath. He relates that (apparently about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes) a sect appeared calling themselves Dostân or 'the friends,' who varied in many respects the hitherto received feasts and traditions of their fathers. Several of their peculiarities are mentioned. They held for impure a fountain into which a dead insect had fallen¹: altered the time for reckoning the purification of women and commencement of feasts: forbade the eating of eggs which had been laid, allowing those only to be eaten which were found inside a slain bird: considered dead snakes and cemeteries as unclean, and held any one whose shadow fell upon a grave as impure for seven days. They rejected the expression 'blessed be our God for ever'², and substituted

¹ It is similarly alleged of all the Samaritans in the *Massekheth Kuthim* (see below, p. 170), that they held oil to be unclean into which a mouse had fallen.

² In *Mishna Berakhot*, 9, 5, it is stated that the expression 'for ever and ever' was introduced as a protest against the

Elohim for Jehovah¹: denied that Garizim had been the first sanctuary of God: upset the Samaritan reckonings for the feasts, giving thirty days to each month, rejecting the feasts and order of fasts and depriving the Levites of their portions of the offerings². They counted the fifty days to Pentecost from the Sabbath, the day after the first day of the Passover, like the Jews (i.e. the Pharisees), not from the Sunday like the other Samaritans. According to them a priest might, without becoming impure, enter a house suspected of infection, as long as he did not speak. When a pure and impure house stood side by side, and it was doubtful whether the impurity extended to the former as well, the question was decided by watching whether a clean or unclean bird first settled upon it. On the Sabbath they might only eat and drink from earthen vessels, which, if defiled, could not be purified³: they might give no food or water to their cattle; this must be done on the previous day. Their high-priest was a certain Zar'a, who had been turned out of his own community for immorality of life.

'sectarians' (מִנִּים) for their disbelief in the resurrection. Dositheus' reason seems to have been the same.

¹ See above, p. 38.

² Cf. the account of the Pharisees given above, p. 35.

³ That they might not be tempted to break the Sabbath by dipping them in water to cleanse them. Herzfeld, *op. cit.* iii. 602.

At a later period lived a Jew, a certain Dûsis¹ : being condemned to death for immorality he was respite on the promise of sowing dissension among the Samaritans by founding a new sect. Accordingly he went to Nablus and formed a friendship with a Samaritan distinguished for his learning and piety. Compelled however to fly for his life on account of a false accusation which he had brought against his friend, he took shelter with a widow-woman, in whose house he composed many writings ; but finding that a hot pursuit after him was still maintained, he retired to a cave, where he perished of hunger and his body was eaten by dogs. Before his departure, however, he left his books with his hostess, enjoining her to let no one read them unless they first bathed in the tank hard by. Accordingly, when Levi the high-priest's nephew, a pious, able man, arrived with seven others in search of him, they all bathed, one after the other, in the tank, and each, as he emerged from the water, exclaimed, 'I believe in Thee, Jehovah, and in Dûsis, Thy servant, and his

¹ He is mentioned just after a certain Germon, whom Juynboll (*Chron. Sam.* p. 347) takes for Germanus, bishop of Nablus in 323, and therefore puts them both at this time : Petermann (*Herzog, R. E.* xiii. 391) in the first or second century A. D. The *Chron. El-Tholidoth* (p. 58), see below, p. 124, appears to place him near the time of Zeno, towards the end of the fifth century A. D.

sons and daughters : ' Levi adding, when his turn came, ' Woe to us, if we deny Dûsis the prophet of God.' Whereupon they took the writings of Dûsis and found that he had made many alterations in the Law, more even than Ezra. But this they concealed on their return to Nablus, saying only that Dûsis had disappeared before their arrival, they knew not whither. At the next Passover Levi had to read out Exod. xii. 22 in the synagogue, but for ' hyssop ' he substituted ' thyme.' Corrected by the congregation he still persevered, crying, ' This is right, as God hath said by His prophet Dûsis, on whom be peace ! Ye are all worthy of death, for denying the prophetic office of His servant Dûsis, altering the feasts, falsifying the great name of Jehovah, and persecuting the second prophet of God whom He hath revealed from Sinai ! Woe unto you that you have rejected and do not follow him ! ' Whereupon Levi was stoned. His friends dipped a palm-leaf in his blood, and ordained that whoever would read his writings and see the leaf must first fast seven days and nights. They cut off their hair, shaved their beards, and at their funerals performed many strange ceremonies. On the Sabbath they would not move from their place, kept their feasts only on this day, during which they would not remove their hands from their sleeves. When one of their friends died, they would gird him with a girdle,

put a stick in his hand and shoes on his feet, saying, ‘if we rise, he will at once get up,’ believing that the dead man, as soon as ever he was laid in the grave, would arise and go to Paradise.—Of the later fortunes of the Dositheans we have no information : they existed however in Egypt early in the seventh century A.D., when Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria was called upon to mediate between them and the rest of the Samaritan community settled there¹.

This part of the subject would be incomplete without some mention of the person and teaching of the celebrated Simon Magus, though a complete enquiry into his system and an examination of the sources whence he drew it would far exceed the limits of the present sketch. He appears early in the Apostolic history as practising magic arts in Samaria, and giving himself out as ‘some great one,’ or, as it is otherwise expressed, ‘the power of God which is called great²,’ i.e. the Supreme Deity himself, as opposed to angelic powers, the creators of the world. Converted by the preaching and

¹ See above, p. 26, note. Dr. Beer, in his *Buch der Jubilaen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim*, considers that it was compiled in the interests of Dositheanism for the use of Egyptian Jews ; it is said, on the authority of modern travellers, still to maintain its influence among the Falascha (Jews) of Abyssinia. Jost, *Gesch.* i. 66, note.

² Οὐτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη. Acts viii. 10.

miracles of the deacon Philip, he suffered himself to be baptized, but the unworthy character of his motives in so acting was soon displayed in his attempt to bribe the apostles to communicate their supernatural gifts to him, hoping thus to acquire greater powers for his own ends. His answer to the indignant rebuke of St. Peter betokens rather apprehension than contrition, and tradition associates his name with the first entry of Gnostic teaching into the Christian Church. The most trustworthy particulars of his life are given us by his fellow-countryman Justin Martyr in the middle of the following century. According to his account¹, Simon was born at Gitton, a Samaritan village, and making his way to Rome in the time of

¹ *Apol.* i. 26, 56, ii. 15; *Tryph.* 120. A stone was found on the island of the Tiber in 1574 with the inscription 'Semoni | Sanco | Deo Fidio | Sacrum | Sex. Pompeius Sp(*uri*) F(*ilius*) | Col(*lina, sc. tribu*) Mussianus | Quinquennalis | Deeur(*io*) Bi- | dentalis | Donum Dedit' (Orell. 1860, Wilmanns 1300, Gruter 96. 5; the similar one in Orell. 1861, Gruter 96. 6, is suspected by some critics); and Justin Martyr has been accordingly charged with having mistaken this for a dedication to Simon Magus. The question is discussed in the preface to his works published in Migne's *Bibl. Patrum*, p. 141. It is singular that the deity to whom the inscription refers, the Sabine Semo-Hercules, is, according to Baur's view (*Christliche Gnosis*, 1835, p. 308), to be identified with the Tyrian Hercules, and that the legend of the latter and of Astarte probably gave rise to the Simon and Helena myth.

Claudius gained so great an influence with both senate and people by the aid of his magic arts that they honoured him as god, and erected a statue to his honour in the island of the Tiber. As time goes on, more minute and full particulars of his life are given by ecclesiastical writers. The author of the Clementines, for instance, knows the names of his parents, and describes him as having received instruction in Hellenic literature and magic at Alexandria¹. Later in life he, with his companion Helena, was among the thirty disciples of John the Baptist, this number having been chosen by the master as representing the days of the month, with a woman among them to signify its incompleteness, as twelve apostles had been selected by our Lord in correspondence with the twelve months of the year. On the death of the Baptist, Dositheus, in the absence of Simon, succeeded to the headship, but after a while was compelled to succumb to the superior powers of his rival. Simon now travelled about in company with Helena (a dissolute woman whom he had picked up at Tyre), practising magical arts, and by their aid making statues to walk, rolling without hurt in the fire, changing into a snake or kid, displaying two faces, &c. But St. Peter continually throws himself in his path ; at Caesarea

¹ *Recogn.* ii. 7; *Epit.* 25.

Stratonis they have a disputation which lasted three days; flying hence he is pursued by his triumphant antagonist to Phoenicia, Antioch, Laodicea, and at last, according to further accounts, is brought to bay at Rome, where, in order to regain his wavering credit with his disciples, he suffers himself to be buried alive, promising to rise again on the third day, but instead miserably perishes. In another version he attempts to fly, but failing in the undertaking owing to the prayers of the Apostle, he falls headlong and loses his life on the spot; or being horribly maimed, he flings himself in shame and anguish from a rock and so perishes¹.

However unsatisfactory many of these details of his history may be, a very complete description of his doctrinal system has descended to us in the works of early ecclesiastical writers, among which are to be found long extracts from the heresiarch's own treatise, the 'Great Apophysis,' or Declaration, in which he unfolds all his wisdom and theories of creation². He explains that there are six original 'roots' or principles whence all things were derived;

¹ The various modifications of the story are well described by Möller in *Herzog, Real-Encycl.* xiv. 392, who also gives a careful account of his system. Cf. also Ewald, *Gesch.* (1868), vii. 124; Baur, *op. cit.*; and the art. 'Gnosticismus' in Ersch and Gruber, p. 278.

² Hippolytus, *Haeres.* vi. 9, x. 12.

in the intellectual world these are *νοῦς* and *ἐπίνοια*, *φωνὴ* and *ὄνομα*¹, *λογισμός* and *ἐνθύμησις*; and corresponding to them in the world of sense are heaven and earth, sun and moon, air and water; but as his whole system is based solely upon the relation of the sexes, all of these 'roots' are arranged, as will have been noticed, in pairs, representing the male and female principle of thought, speech, and reflection² respectively. These however by themselves are incapable of production: for this they need the help of the seventh, the highest and first principle of all, the unlimited Power (*ἀπέραντος δύναμις*). This exists indeed in all the six, but only in potentiality, not in realisation (*δυνάμει οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ*). For its nature is two-fold, it is both hidden and manifest, apparent to the intellect and to the senses (*νοητόν* and *αἰσθητόν*): it is described as a supercelestial fire, the treasure-house (*θησαυρός*) of both *αἰσθητά* and *νοητά*, or, to use a Biblical image, it is the tree seen in Nebuchadnezzar's vision whence all flesh was nourished. Now if this fire remain only in potentiality it will vanish, like geometry or grammar from the mind of man, but if it be realised, assume sensible

¹ In Theodoret, *Haeret. Fab.* i. 1, *ἐπνοία*. I do not venture to translate these terms, being doubtful whether they can be rendered accurately. Ewald gives them as Verstand and Verständlichkeit, Sprachsinn and Sprache, Gedanke and Ueberlegung.

² Or, 'understanding.'

shape ($\epsilon\xi\epsilon\kappa\nu\iota\sigma\theta\eta$), take art ($\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\nu\eta$), then it becomes the light of all generation ($\phi\hat{\omega}s\tau\hat{\omega}v\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\mu\acute{e}r\omega\nu$). Again, it may be described as past, present, and future¹ ($\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}s$, $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}s$, $\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\acute{\mu}\epsilon\epsilon\sigma$) : it stands on high in ungenerated potentiality ($\epsilon\nu\grave{\alpha}\gamma\iota\iota\nu\grave{\eta}\tau\omega\delta\mu\acute{a}m\epsilon\iota$), it stood beneath 'on the face of the waters' in generated form ($\epsilon\nu\grave{\epsilon}\grave{\iota}\kappa\grave{\omega}\iota\gamma\iota\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\grave{s}$) ; it will stand on high, if it be realised, by the side of the blessed unlimited Power. The first principle *did* take form in the person of Simon himself : and by the aid of him, who is the incarnation of it, all men can think and speak and reflect rightly ; heaven and earth, sun and moon, air and water can each perform their appointed task in union with each other.

So far possibly the system as taught by Simon himself extended, but a further development of it, which may have been due to the imagination and enthusiasm of his scholars, has also come down to us, and in this his companion Helena plays a conspicuous part². According to this he is the highest Power, the Father who is above all, who suffers himself to be called among men by what name they please, the Supreme Mind ; Helena

¹ An idea borrowed from the Jehovah of Exod. iii. 14 ; the $\grave{\alpha}\grave{\omega}v\kappa\grave{\alpha}\grave{\delta}\grave{\eta}v\kappa\grave{\alpha}\grave{\delta}\grave{\epsilon}\grave{\rho}\chi\grave{\o}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\sigma$ of Rev. i. 4.

² Hippolytus, *op. cit.* vi. 19 ; Irenaeus, *Haeres.* i. 23 ; Theodore, *loc. cit.* ; Tertullian, *Anim.* 34 ; Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 21.

is the female principle corresponding to him, his Intelligence, the universal Mother, through whom he first conceived the idea of creating angels and archangels. She springing down into the lower regions produced angels and powers who created the world, and afterwards detained her out of envy, wishing to be thought self-produced. Him they ignored entirely, her they subjected to all contumelious usage, making her pass from one woman's body to another that she might not return to the Father. Thus she was once the Helen for whom Greeks and Trojans fought at Ilium, and who after many transmigrations found herself at last in a brothel at Tyre. Then it was that the supreme Power came down from on high to rescue this his 'lost sheep:' he passed through all the angel-spheres, assimilating himself to each, till he appeared as man on earth, among the Samaritans as the Father, among the Jews as Son, where he suffered death in appearance only, among the Gentiles as Holy Ghost¹. He overcame the powers of the world, each of them ruling unrighteously and striving for the mastery, freed his Intelligence, brought salvation to mankind, and likewise delivered them from the bondage of the spirits who created the world. It was

¹ So Jerome on Matt. xxiv. 5. 'Ego sum Sermo Dei, ego sum speciosus, ego Paraclitus, ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei.'

they who inspired the prophets, consequently their words are not regarded by those who believe on Simon and Helena ; these may act as they please : they can do no wrong, for nothing is evil in itself, only by ordinance ; certain things have been declared to be so by the creating angels who thought thus to enslave mankind. The result of such a doctrine upon the lives of Simon's disciples may be easily imagined¹.

Greek mythology was also pressed into the service of Simon in order to illustrate the relationship of him and Helena : their admirers were fond of representing them under the form of Zeus and Athena (she according to the legend having sprung fully formed from the brain of her sire), and of making offerings before images and paintings so depicting them. Such was the strange mixture of Judaism, Christianity, Oriental legend, and Greek mythology which took such deep root in Samaria, that, according to the testimony of Justin Martyr, nearly the whole nation in his days had given in their adherence to it. One circumstance no doubt powerfully contributed to this end, that the vanity of the people was flattered by the idea of possessing a Messiah of their own whose high pretensions should equal those of the Christ of Nazareth. The sect however had no

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 13.

great vitality, and had almost ceased to exist in the time of Origen¹.

Roused to emulation by the success of Simon, one of his disciples, Menander of Capparetaia², another Samaritan village, endeavoured to improve upon his system. His pretensions were more modest. Unlike his master, he made no claim to be considered as the highest Power, teaching that this is unknown ; it had however by means of the divine *ērvoia* produced the angels, and by them the world had been created ; his own mission was to set man free from the dominion of these powers, and give them immortality ; this he promised he would do for all, even in this life, who believed and were baptized in his name. He does not seem to have had any great following among his countrymen, the ground having been too completely occupied by his master : he consequently migrated to Antioch on the Orontes and there founded a school : some of his disciples were still to be found there in Justin Martyr's day.

¹ Origen, *Cels.* i. 57, vi. 11.

² Justin Mart. *Ap.* i. 26, 56. In Theodoret, *op. cit.* i. 2, his birth-place is called Chabrai. His teaching is described by Irenaeus, *loc. cit.* ; Hippolytus, *Haeres.* vii. 28 ; Eusebius, *op. cit.* iii. 26. In Hippolytus it is said to have resembled that of Saturnilus, but it is not clear how much of the description given of the latter will apply to him.

Another disciple, Cleobius, though founding a school of his own, appears to have kept so close to his master's teaching as to have been looked upon as an apostle of his. Nothing is known of him, but that he imitated Simon in his hostility to Christianity, forging and circulating books in the name of Christ and His apostles¹.

To return after this digression to the question of the religious belief of the Samaritans;—it would appear from the foregoing sketch that their original creed was wholly borrowed from their neighbours of Judaea at a time when Sadducean opinions prevailed among them, and that the later Pharisaic views which gradually ousted the former beliefs did not for centuries obtain any hold in Samaria. Thus matters continued till the fall of Jerusalem. This event must have greatly altered the tone of mind with which the Samaritans regarded their old enemies. The sight of the Jews' humiliation and dispersion over the face of the earth must have greatly modified the repugnance with which they would naturally have repelled any acceptance of their rivals' views. Accordingly when next we receive any information

¹ *Const. Ap.* vi. 16. Ewald identifies his followers with the Ἐπτυχταὶ of Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17, ascribing the name to the importance ascribed by them to solemn 'supplications:' they are however termed Ἐπτυχταὶ in Theodoret, *Haer.* i. 1, and distinguished from the Κλεοβαροί.

with regard to the creed of Samaria, we find it greatly changed and many of the Pharisaic articles of faith now forming part of it, to the exclusion of those Sadducean doctrines which had formerly prevailed. Moslem influence also was later brought to bear upon the Samaritans, when in 636 A.D. they passed under the rule of the Saracens, and it is no doubt to this, or to the neighbourhood of the Druses¹,—that strange eclectic sect which borrowed its principles alike from the Law, the Gospel, and the Koran,—that they owe many Koranic expressions and ideas, for instance, the passionate assertion of the unity of God, the high and peculiar honour paid to Moses as the one prophet, and the notion that the Law was created: ideas all of which find their counterpart in Mohammedan theology.

Our information with regard to the later developments of Samaritan faith is very full: the sources from which it may be obtained are the hymns and other religious documents published

¹ The sect was founded by Hâkim, the sixth khaliph of the house of the Fatimites that ruled in Cairo, in opposition to the Abbasides of Bagdad. In 1017 A.D. he gave to the inhabitants of Syria liberty of conscience and leave to rebuild their synagogues. Hamza his disciple taught that God had manifested Himself by prophets, last of all by Mohammed and Hâkim. The latter had, in 1020, disappeared to return later. Juynboll, *Chron. Sam.* 116; De Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*.

by Gesenius and Heidenheim, the earliest of them dating possibly from the seventh century, the book of Joshua and Chronicle of Abulfath, composed in the thirteenth and fourteenth, the Samaritan correspondence with Scaliger and others from the sixteenth century downwards, and lastly the very complete information afforded by modern travellers.

From a combination of these various documents it would appear that the Samaritans, like the Mohammedans¹, had five principal articles of faith²: they hold that—

1. God is One, without partner or associate, without body and passions, the cause of all things, filling all things; His nature is inscrutable: His powers were hidden in Him before the creation, and by it His majesty and magnificence were displayed: He is knowable by reason, by His works and revelation: from the kindness He formerly shewed to His own people in continually protecting them a return of the Divine favour may be expected: to them alone was His great Name revealed on mount Garizim.

2. Moses is the one messenger and prophet of God, for all time: all other prophets are as nothing

¹ The five points of the Mohammedan creed are belief in the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed, prayer, alms, fasting, and the pilgrimage to Meeea. Cf. Weil, *Mohammed*, 288.

² Cf. the letter of Meschalmah in Heidenheim, *Viertel-jahresschr.* i. 100.

compared with him : he is the glory of prophecy, the end of revelation, the friend and familiar servant of God, the head, the sun, the crown of the world, above all kings and priests ; none will arise¹ like him : he is superior even to the Messias : after ascending into heaven he dwelt in the splendour of God.

3. The Law is perfect and complete, destined for all time, never to be supplemented or abrogated by later revelation : it was created in the six days, before all other creatures ; by the study of it men become partakers of eternal life.

4. Garizim is the one abode of God on earth, the home of eternal life, the ‘mount of blessing²’ : its higher eminence is most sacred, it is the ‘everlasting hill³’ the ‘house of God⁴’ ; its lower one is ‘Jacob’s pillar⁵’ the ‘stone of Israel⁶’ : there the Tabernacle was placed, there Joshua built the first altar ; there does God manifest Himself by His presence : over it is Paradise, thence comes all rain : they can shew where Adam and Seth raised their several altars, and the seven steps leading to that of Noah : they know where Abraham offered

¹ The Sam. Targum in Deut. xxxiv. 10 reads קָרֵן for the קָרֵב of the Masoretic text : cf. also the Sam. text in Ex. xviii. 7.

² Deut. xi. 29 ; see above, p. 14, note 6.

³ Gen. xlvi. 26 ; Deut. xxxiii. 15 ; where the Sam. Pent. reads נְבָעַת.

⁴ Gen. xxviii. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxxv. 14.

⁶ *Ibid.* xlvi. 24.

up Isaac¹: there still remain the twelve stones on which is written the Law (Deut. xxvii. 4), the site of the former temple²: below it stood the high-priest's house not far from the cave of Makkedah: Garizim was alone spared by the flood when every other mountain was covered³.

5. There will be a day of retribution, when the pious will rise again; false prophets and their followers will then be cast into the fire and burnt⁴.

Other points in their creed may be noticed. The world is twofold, one apparent to the senses, the other spiritual, the abode of angels; it has not always existed, it was created. Man was formed from the dust of Mount Safra, that is Garizim, in the image of the angels, not of God. The Sabbath is to be rigidly observed; great rewards await those who honour it. Angels are the powers

¹ Cf. Petermann in *Herzog*, xiii. 377. The claim of Garizim as the place of sacrifice in opposition to Moriah in Jerusalem is upheld by Dr. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine* (1866), p. 251, but controverted by Ewald, *Götting. Gel. Anz.* (1863), p. 638, and by Thomson, *Land and Book* (London, 1860), p. 474.

² To this the Samaritans always turn in prayer, as the Jews to Jerusalem and Moslems to Mecca.

³ This is borrowed from the Jewish legend that Palestine was not covered by the flood. *Bereshith Rabba*, 33, and *Zebahim*, 113b.

⁴ See the Sam. Pent. in Ex. xv. 18 and Deut. xxxii. 35. Vilmar (in *Abulfath*, p. xxxvii) thinks that (4) and (5) were later additions to the Samaritan creed.

of the unseen world, and of God: they appeared at the giving of the Law on Sinai; by one of them, not in person, God spake to Moses¹.

The belief in a coming Messiah or 'Restorer'², who plays so conspicuous a part in later Samaritan theology, was probably of home origin, or at all events, even if borrowed from their neighbours, adapted to their own ideas and hopes³. It is

¹ It is doubtful how the Samaritans regard angels, whether as attributes of the Deity or uncreated existences. Cf. De Sacy, in *Not. et Extr.* xii. 26. Their belief on this point and also with regard to the resurrection is probably somewhat hazy. De Sacy could extract no satisfactory replies from the priest Salameh. Petermann was informed by the priest that by the 'Spirit of God' and 'darkness' of Gen. i. were signified good and bad angels respectively. He gave him the names of the four greatest angels, Fannuel (Gen. xxxii. 31), Anusa (Exod. xiv. 25), Cabbala (Num. iv. 20), and Nasi (Exod. xvii. 15), all founded upon a misinterpretation of these passages. The devils are Azazel (Lev. xvi), Belial (Deut. xv. 9), and Jasara (perhaps the 'hornet' of Exod. xxiii. 28). The descendants of Cain became evil spirits; the Nephilim (Gen. vi. 4) also are evil angels who fell from heaven. He varied in his account of the resurrection; at one time stating that the spirits of good and evil men would receive their bodies at the last judgment and with them return to Paradise and hell respectively; at another, that they would always remain in an incorporeal state.

² Called also in Arabic El-muhdî, the 'guide.' Robinson, ii. 278.

³ It is not likely that the idea of a Messiah the son of Joseph would have its origin anywhere but among the Samaritans, who were always eager to raise the tribe of Joseph at the expense of

fully explained in the letter addressed by the Samaritans to their 'brethren in England' in A.H. 1096 (=A.D. 1684)¹: 'You have spoken of the arrival of the great Prophet. This is he who was announced to our father Abraham, as it is said there appeared "a smoking furnace and a burning lamp" (Gen. xv. 17): "to him shall the people submit themselves" (ib. xlix. 10): of him also it is said (Num. xxiv. 17), "he shall destroy all the children of Sheth, and Israel shall do valiantly:" of him, "the Lord thy God shall raise thee up from amidst thy brethren a prophet like unto me, unto him shall ye hearken" (Deut. xviii. 15). Our teachers have said on this point that this prophet shall arise, that all people shall submit to him and believe in him and in the Law and Mount Garizim: that the religion of Moses son of Amram will then appear in glory, that the beginning of

that of Judah. The summary of Jewish doctrine on the subject is as follows: Messiah the son of Joseph will come before Messiah the son of David, will assemble the ten tribes in Galilee and lead them to Jerusalem, but will at last perish in battle against Gog and Magog for the sins of Jeroboam. See references in Gesenius, *De Sam. Theologia*, 43. **השָׁהָב** קָרְבָּן or signifies the 'restorer.' *Ibid.* 44; Vilmar, p. xlvi.

¹ De Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* xii. 209. The Samaritans do not interpret 'Shiloh' in Gen. xlix. 10 of the Messiah, but of Solomon, the magician, after whose time the sceptre departed from Judah. Cf. the Samaritan letter to Ludolf in 1691 (Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xiii. 281).

the name of the prophet who will arise will be M¹; that he will die and be interred near Joseph “the fruitful bough,” that the Tabernacle will appear by his ministry and be established on Garizim.’ As to the time of his appearance the Samaritans were formerly uncertain; ‘no one knows his coming but Jehovah,’ says Ab Zehuta in 1589²: ‘it is a great mystery with regard to Hattaheb who is to come and who will manifest his spirit: happy shall we be when he arrives,’ writes Salameh in 1811³. But the modern Samaritans are more communicative. ‘The appearance of the Messias,’ writes Petermann in 1860, ‘is to take place 6000 years after the creation⁴, and these have just elapsed, consequently he now, though all unconsciously, is going about upon earth. In 1853 the Samaritans expected a great political revolution, but in 1863 the kings of the earth will, according to them, assemble the wisest out of all nations in order by mutual counsel to discover the true faith. From the Israelites, i.e. Samaritans, will one be sent, and he will be the Taheb. He will gain the day,

¹ ‘The Messiah has not arisen yet, but he will come, and his name will be Hattaheb:’ *ibid.* Cf. Vilmar, p. xliv.

² In Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xiii. 266. The Jews, after repeated disappointments, forbade any one to calculate the arrival of the Messiah. Cf. *Bab. Sanhedrin*, f. 97 b.

³ De Saey, *Not. et Extr.* xii. 122.

⁴ This is borrowed from the Jews; cf. *Bab. 'Aboda Zara*, 9 a.

lead them to Garizim, where under the twelve stones they will find the ten commandments (or the whole Law), and under the stone of Bethel the Temple utensils¹ and manna. Then will all believe in the Law, and acknowledge him as their king and lord of all the earth. He will convert and equalise all men, live 110 years upon earth, then die and be buried near Garizim, for upon that pure and holy mountain can no burial take place. Afterwards will the earth remain some hundreds of years more till the 7000 are completed, and then will the last judgment come in².

This part of the subject may be concluded by a sketch of the religious observances of the Samaritans at the present day. They celebrate seven feasts in the year, although only one, the Passover, is observed with its former solemnities; for, the former obligation to sacrifice having ceased with the disappearance of the Tabernacle and the cessation of the divine favour, prayers have been substituted for the former rites. For this feast they prepare themselves some days before by a purification of themselves and their houses: the unleavened cakes³ are baked of corn specially bought

¹ See above, p. 20, note 2.

² In Herzog, xiii. 373.

³ Their number of days for eating unleavened bread seems to have varied: in the seventeenth century they write to Ludolf 'six' days (cf. Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xiii. 283); in this century, to De Saey, 'seven.' *Not. et Ectr.* xii. 104, 120.

for the purpose while still in the ear, and not threshed by oxen according to the custom of the country, but prepared by the women of the congregation: the lambs must have been born in the previous Tisri (October), and be without blemish of any sort. On the 14th of Nisan the congregation ascend to the lower plateau of Garizim and pitch their tents there: at sunset¹ on the following day the lambs are slain amid the recitation of prayers, hymns, and passages of the Law describing the original ceremonial, then stripped of their wool, cleaned and sprinkled with salt; next, sticks are run through the leg-sinews and the animals suspended in a trench lined with stones which has been well heated by a fire lighted within; wet earth and turf are then piled over and trampled down, so that the hole is hermetically sealed and the lambs thoroughly roasted. At sunset they are brought forth and eaten in haste with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, the men and boys first partaking of them, and afterwards the women and girls, all with staves in their hands as if equipped for a journey: the remainder is consumed with fire. Then follow the morning prayers, lasting for four hours: the next day is spent in general rejoicing and the consumption of fish, rice, eggs, and all sorts of

¹ Or after noon, when the Passover falls on a Sabbath.

delicacies (in which however no leaven may be used), in the drinking of wine and brandy, accompanied by the recitation of hymns either extemp-
orary or learnt by heart, suitable passages of Scripture, &c.¹ The 21st of Nisan, or last day of unleavened bread, is also counted as a feast, and is marked by a pilgrimage to Garizim, visiting the various sacred spots there, and recitation of the Law. The third feast is Pentecost, commencing on the Wednesday previous to the day itself: this is also marked by going to Garizim in procession, visiting the holy places, and reading through the whole Law. The fourth is that of Trumpets, on the first day of the first Tisri: on this occasion the oldest synagogue roll is displayed and kissed by the worshippers, as on eight other occasions during the year. The fifth is the Day of Atonement, on which from sunset to sunset² no eating, drinking, sleeping, or talking is allowed, but the whole twenty-four hours must be spent in the synagogue in reading the Law from end

¹ For a minute and interesting account of the ceremonies of the Passover, as celebrated in 1853, for the first time after an interruption of many years, on Garizim, see Petermann in Herzog, xiii. 378; also Dr. Stanley, *Jewish Church*, i. 513.

² Even the children fast (De Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* 177): among the Jews they do not till they are twelve or thirteen years of age. For an account of the ceremonies of this day see Mr. Grove's paper in Galton's *Vacation Tourists* for 1861.

to end and singing hymns. The first and eighth days of Tabernacles count for the remaining feast-days, the intermediate time is spent in huts of laurel and other fragrant leaves pitched on the slope of Garizim, and employed in daily pilgrimage to the top. The Sabbath moreover is kept with great strictness: no fire may be lighted on it¹: the years of jubilee and release are also still observed. The Samaritans have two more days of assembly, though they do not count them as feast-days, termed *Summoth*², sixty days before Passover and Tabernacles respectively: the number of the congregation is then taken, and in return each male over twenty years of age presents the priest with half a shekel (three piastres), in accordance with Exod. xxx. 12-14, receiving from him a calendar for the coming six months prepared from a table in his possession, originally, it is said, composed by Adam and committed to writing in the time of Phinehas³: from these offerings, the tenth of the incomes of the congregation, and other small gifts, the priest gains his living⁴. He may consecrate any of his family

¹ *Not. et Extr.* xii. 124; *Repertorium*, ix. 32.

² Cf. the chron. *El-Tholidoth* (below, p. 124) in *Journ. Asiat.* (1869), p. 452. ³ See below, p. 125.

⁴ The Samaritans allow that their high-priest is only a Levite, and that the family of Aaron has long died out. *Not. et Extr.* xii. 30, 218.

that he pleases to the priesthood, provided the candidate for the office be twenty-five years of age and never have suffered his hair to be cut. Like other Orientals, he never removes his turban, and so is not easily to be distinguished from the rest of the congregation ; but, in accordance with Lev. x. 6, he does not 'rend his clothes' by wearing a slit on his sleeve as other Samaritans, and when the roll of the Law is taken from the ark he, like his assistants, places a *tallith* or cloth round his head. On festal occasions and in the synagogue the Samaritans wear white turbans ; ordinarily they are compelled, by way of distinction from Mohammedans, to wear them of a pale red colour : they may cut their hair or not as they please, but not their beards, this being forbidden in Lev. xix. 27 ; xxi. 5¹. Women must let their hair grow, and may wear no earrings, because of them the golden calf in the wilderness was made : for fear of scandalising the Mohammedans, none but the old ones venture to attend the synagogue. Great rejoicings are held over the birth of a boy : his circumcision always takes place on the eighth day after birth, even though it be a Sabbath². Boys marry as early as fifteen or sixteen, girls at twelve : the latter receiving as dowry from their

¹ The Karaites interpret these passages in the same manner.

² Cf. *Repertorium*, xiii. 261.

bridegrooms sums varying from £40 to £60. When a man has a childless wife, he may take a second¹, but if she also be barren, not a third: divorces, though permitted, are uncommon. The dead are prepared for burial by their own friends²: the whole body is washed, but especially the hands (thrice), mouth, nose, face, ears both inside and out, (all this in Mohammedan fashion), and lastly the feet: the burial takes place, if possible, before sunset the same day, accompanied with the recitation of hymns and of the whole Law. These readings are continued every day to the next Sabbath, the women of the family watching near the grave: on the Sabbath it is visited by the whole congregation (except the near relations), who eat there together, reciting part of the Law and singing hymns, finishing the recitation later in the day with the relations³.

III. It will be time to pass on to a review of the

¹ This was not always so. In their letter to Scaliger (*Repertorium*, xiii. 261) they say, 'we take but one wife, the Jews many.' In their letter to De Sacy (*Not. et Extr.* xii. 108) they say the same as in the text.

² Not by Mohammedans, as reported by M. Pillavoine. See De Saey, *Not. et Extr.* xii. 34.

³ Some observances the Samaritans appear to have relinquished: thus in the letters to Scaliger (*Repertorium*, xiii. 260) and Huntington (*Not. et Extr.* xii. 178) they say they use the 'water of separation' (Num. xix. 21), but in 1820 (*ibid.* 127) they did so no more.

literature of the Samaritans when a few remarks have been made upon the peculiar dialect in which a great part of it is composed. It is probable that even before the captivity of the ten tribes the closer intercourse which had sprung up between them and neighbouring Aramaean nations had already had some influence upon the Hebrew of northern and central Palestine¹. Doubtless also the changes which were brought about by the Assyrian invasion in the removal of the educated classes into exile and the settlement of a mixed Aramaean population in their places must have served still further to corrupt the ancient Hebrew and give rise to a dialect of the Aramaean which under some form or other was spoken from Babylonia to the Mediterranean². Other elements also besides Aramaean are observable in the language. The non-Semitic settlers left their mark behind in foreign words which can be traced to no known

¹ The existence of a vulgar idiom in the north of Palestine verging towards Aramaic is possibly discernible even so early as the song of Deborah. Renan, *Langues Sémitiques* (1864), p. 143; Ewald, *Grammatik* (1838), sect. 5.

² The eastern branch of Aramaean is still spoken by a considerable Christian population on the Upper Tigris, in Koordistan, and on the lake of Urmia. The western is entirely lost, except in Ma'lûlâ and two neighbouring villages in Antilibanus, and this is not likely to survive long, as the people speak Arabic as well. Nöldeke in *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xxi. 183.

source¹. Greek, Latin, Persian, Arabic, and possibly other languages as well, have each contributed something to enrich the vocabulary. The grammar bears all the signs of irregularity which would characterise that of an illiterate people, the orthography is uncertain, there is a profusion of quiescents, and a complete confusion between the several gutturals and cognate letters respectively; the vowels are uncertain, the A sound being most prominent. Such is the dialect which was spoken in Samaria till the Arabian conquest of the country in the seventh century A.D., when the language of the victors was introduced, and by its superior vigour gradually overpowered its rival till, probably by about the eighth or ninth century, it had entirely taken its place. The old language however still continued to be understood and written by the priests, so that like the Jews they had two sacred languages, which however they had not the skill completely to distinguish from each other: the 'Hebrew' consequently which appears in the correspondence of Samaritans with Europeans is largely impregnated with Aramaisms; Arabisms also are not by any means unfrequent.

In the literature of the Samaritans there is little

¹ Kohn, *Sam. Studien*, p. 95. Nöldeke however (in Geiger's *Zeitschr.* vi. 204 sq.) is not disposed to allow this. Kohn recognises Aethiopic, Coptic, and Armenian roots as well.

to be found of much interest or value. For they were a people of neither genius nor originality; as in their creed, so in their literature, all they could for the most part do was to borrow from their neighbours, endeavouring by alteration and loud assertion to hide the fraud which, from the clumsiness with which it was carried out, became apparent on the first searching investigation it underwent¹.

But before passing on to such parts of Samaritan literature as have come down to our times it will be as well to notice the remains, in many cases amounting only to a name, of certain Samaritan Hellenists who appear to have lived during the last two or three centuries B.C. Thus Eusebius has preserved for us considerable extracts made by Alexander Polyhistor, an author living at Rome at the time of Sulla, from the writings of a certain Eupolemus². Many of these have perhaps been

¹ In the *Chron. Sam.* chap. xlvi, the Samaritans are stated to have lost the following books in the persecution under Hadrian; the 'book of selections,' consisting perhaps of proverbs and wise sayings; songs and prayers for the various offerings; other hymns; the 'book of the high-priests,' which traced their line up to Phinehas, and lastly their Annals; nothing being left but the Law and a similar book of Annals. In Abulfath (*Ann.* pp. 120, 121) this loss is ascribed to the time of Commodus.

² *Praep. Evang.* ix. Polyhistor himself appears to have been a Samaritan. (Juynboll, *Comment.* p. 49.) The varied character of the fragments attributed to Eupolemus in chaps. 17,

wrongly attributed to his authorship, but there is one of which the Samaritan origin cannot be mistaken. It is there related how the Giants after building the tower of Babel were dispersed over the earth, how Abraham was the inventor of astrology and Chaldaean (arts), and after his removal to Phoenicia taught astronomy to the inhabitants of that country. After rescuing Lot from the Armenians he is entertained at Argarizim, that is, as it is explained, the 'Mountain of the Most High,' where he receives gifts from the priest Melchizedek who reigned there. Passing on later into Egypt, he becomes intimate with the priests, and instructs them in astrology and other sciences.

In the same book of Eusebius are preserved some fifty hexameter lines by Theodotus, an Alexandrian poet, taken apparently from a versified history of

26, 30-34, 39, has induced different writers to take the most opposite view of his opinions, and hold him for a Jew, a Samaritan, and a heathen. The whole question has been fully discussed by Freudenthal in the *Jahresbericht d. Seminars zu Breslau* (1874), pp. 82 sq. He believes chaps. 17 and 18 to be the work of some unknown Samaritan, and to have been wrongly ascribed by Polyhistor to Eupolemus. The title *περὶ Ιουδαίων* also he thinks to be a mistake. The writer, whoever he was, appears to have known and used the LXX version. The remaining chapters are probably the work of a Jew. Eupolemus is also mentioned in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, as giving 5149 years from Adam to the fifth year of Demetrius Ptolemaeus, and 2580 from the Exodus to the same time.

Sichem, in which the beauties of its situation are described and its sacred character extolled; the history of Jacob also is related in connexion with it from his flight out of Mesopotamia to the destruction of the town by Simeon and Levi¹. The Cleodemus-Malchas also mentioned by the same historian² would appear to be of the same nationality, and a Samaritan hand has been detected in a passage occurring in the eleventh Sibylline book where famine and pestilence are denounced against the Egyptian Jews during the reign of eight of the Ptolemies³. Thallus also, possibly the freedman of Tiberius mentioned by Josephus⁴, the author of a work on Syria⁵, who notices Moses' leadership of the Israelites⁶, explains the darkness at the Crucifixion as arising from an eclipse of the sun⁷, and, like the pseudo-Eupolemus above mentioned, relates how Belus and the Titans rose in insurrection against Zeus and the confederate gods⁸; he also is supposed to

¹ Cap. 22. Cf. Ewald, *Gesch.* (1864), iv. 338; Herzfeld, iii. 520; and Freudenthal, p. 99. No one but a Samaritan would have called Sichem *ἴερη Σικίμων*: the work was probably not *περὶ Ἰουδαίων*, but as described in the text.

² *O. p. cit.* ix. 20; Freudenthal, p. 100.

³ *Sibyll.* xi. 239-242; Ewald, *ibid.* p. 340.

⁴ *Ant.* xviii. 6. 4.

⁵ Ensebius, *ibid.* x. 10.

⁶ Just. Mart. *Coh.* 9.

⁷ Syncellus, *Chronographia*, p. 322.

⁸ Theophilus, *ad Autol.* iii. 29.

have been a Samaritan by origin: and another countryman of his is thought to be designated by the Σεμηρώνιος ὁ Βαθυλώνιος ὁ Ηέρσης of the Chronicon Paschale¹. It is remarkable that out of the nine writings of Hellenists of Israelitic origin quoted by Alexander Polyhistor and preserved to us by Eusebius, some five or six appear to have had a decided bias either for or against the Samaritans; it would seem therefore extremely probable that a considerable controversial literature between Jews and Samaritans had sprung up by the first century B.C., of which only some few fragments now remain.

Of the Samaritan literature which has come down to our times, first in importance and order will be the Pentateuch.

It had been well known to early Jewish and Christian writers that a recension of the Pentateuch differing in important respects from that in use among the Jews was in possession of the Samaritan community. It was regarded however by these writers in very different lights: the former treat it with contempt as a forgery. ‘You

¹ p. 68. The philosopher Marinus, a convert from Samaritanism to heathenism, the biographer and successor of the Neo-Platonist Proclus in the school of Athens in 485, speaks of Abraham's having ‘sacrificed on Argarizim, where is the most holy temple of the supreme Zeus,’ thus betraying his Samaritan origin. Photius, *Bibl.* p. 345 b.

have falsified your Law,' says R. Elieser ben Simon¹ to the Samaritan scribes about 160 A.D., 'and have done yourselves no good by it,' referring to their insertion of the words 'opposite Shechem' in Deut. xi. 30 to obviate the Jewish objection that it was not the Samaritan Garizim here referred to. 'Who has led you into error,' says another writer of the same period², jeering at their ignorance of grammar displayed in the interpretation of the ordinance in Deut. xxv. 5 as to marrying a brother's widow. Early Christian writers on the other hand speak of it with respect, in some cases even preferring its authority to that of the Masoretic text. Origen quotes it under the name of $\tauὸ τῷν Σαμαρειτῶν Ἐβραικόν$, giving its various readings on the margin of his Hexapha.³

¹ *Jer. Sota*, vii. 3: the *Siphré* and *Bab. Sota*, 33 b, ascribe the saying to R. Elieser ben Jose. There is much valuable information on the subject of the Samaritan Pentateuch to be found in Frankel's *Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, pp. 260 sq., but especially in his *Einfluss d. palästin. Exegese auf d. alexandrin. Hermeneutik*, pp. 237 sqq. English readers may also consult the article in Smith's *Bible Dict.* iii. 1106.

² R. Simon ben Elieser, *Jer. Jeb.* i. 6. He may however be the same as R. Elieser ben Simon; see Frankel, *Vorstudien*, 197; *Einfluss*, 243. Through ignorance of the use of π locale they took $\pi\pi\pi\pi$ to be an epithet of $\pi\pi\pi$, and translated it the 'outer wife,' i. e. betrothed, who had not yet entered the house of her husband. See above, p. 42.

³ e. g. on Num. xiii. 1: cf. xxi. 13, and Montfaucon, *Hebrapl. Prelim.* i. 8, 9.

Eusebius of Caesarea notices the agreement in the chronology of the LXX and Samaritan text as against the Hebrew, and remarks that it was written in a character confessedly more ancient than that of the latter¹. Jerome also mentions this fact²: in his comment on Gal. iii. 10 he upholds the genuineness of its text over that of the Masoretic one, which he considers to have been purposely altered³. Cyril of Alexandria mentions that the Samaritan supplies words wanting in the Hebrew⁴: Procopius of Gaza that portions of Deuteronomy have been inserted in the parallel passages of former books⁵: Georgius Syncellus, the chronologist of the eighth century, is most

¹ *Chron.* i. xvi. 7-11.

² *Prolog. to Kings*: ‘Samaritani etiam Pentateuchum Moysis totidem literis scriptitant, figuris tamen et apicibus discrepantes.’

³ St. Paul has, ‘Cursed be he that abideth not in *all* that is written,’ &c. This word appears in the LXX and Samaritan, but not in the Masoretic text of Deut. xxvii. 26, whence it is quoted, though it does in parallel passages such as xxviii. 15. In his commentary on Gen. iv. 8, St. Jerome speaks more favourably of the Hebrew: ‘Subauditur, “ea quae loquitur est Dominus.” Superfluum ergo est quod in Samaritanorum et nostro volumine est, “Transeamus in campum.”’

⁴ Παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κεῖται τὰ ρίματα τοῦ Καΐν τὰ πρὸς Ἀβὲλ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' Ἐβραίοις· ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ φασίν παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὅ κεῖται ἔχει δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν: mentioned by Migne in a note on the last quoted passage of St. Jerome as attributed to St. Cyril.

⁵ In his commentary on Deut. i. 9.

outspoken in his praise of it, terming it ‘the earliest and best even by the testimony of the Jews themselves’¹.

But all recollection of this recension afterwards entirely died out, so that the plain statements of Fathers and other early writers were looked upon as misapprehensions, till in 1616 Pietro della Valle succeeded in procuring a complete copy of it at Damascus, which, after much delay, was published in the Paris Polyglott of 1645². The editor of the part which contained this text, Joannes Morinus, priest of the Oratory, seized the opportunity of the discovery of the long-lost treasure for pressing his own peculiar views as to the value of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Ludovicus Cappellus, the learned professor of Saumur, had indeed as early as 1624 attacked the views of the elder Buxtorf and endeavoured to establish the comparatively modern origin of the Hebrew points and accents³: and in his

¹ *Chronographia*, p. 83. Μέχρι τοίνυν τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καθὼς πρόκειται διαφωνοῦσι τὰ Ἑβραικὰ ἀντίγραφα πρὸς τὸ Σαμαρειτῶν ἀρχαιότατον καὶ χαρακτῆρι διάλλαττον ὃ καὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον Ἑβραῖοι καθομολογοῦσιν.

² For the history of this edition see G. W. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Schriftenklärung* (1804), iii. 153 sq.

³ In his *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum*; followed by his *Arcani Punctuationis Vindiciae* in 1680, in reply to the rejoinder of Buxtorf the younger. In his *Diatribā de Veris et Antiquis*

'Critica Sacra,' which after great delay, caused by the opposition of the Protestants, finally appeared in 1650, he put forth the view that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament has been in numberless places corrupted by the errors of copyists, and that the true reading in such cases is to be found only by comparison of MSS. and ancient translations, and finally by conjecture¹.

But Morinus went to much further lengths. He maintained that the Hebrew original had been so hopelessly depraved by continued blunders and falsifications as to be utterly untrustworthy, and with all a convert's zeal he urged that recourse must under these circumstances be had to the two translations authorised by the Church, the Vulgate, and LXX version², and in accordance with these views he naturally took up the cause of the Samaritan text, placing it far above the Hebrew for correctness and importance³.

The assertion of theories so different to those

Hebraeorum Literis, 1645, he proved that the Samaritan letters were older than the square characters.

¹ Meyer, *ibid.*, p. 287.

² In his *Exercitationes Biblicae*, Part i, 1633. Part ii was published after his death in 1669.

³ He had first noticed the Samaritan Pentateuch in the preface to his edition of the LXX in 1628, and spoke of it with high praise in his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*, 1631.

generally accepted called forth doughty champions on the other side, the most conspicuous among whom were Simon de Muis, archdeacon of Soissons¹, and Hottinger, the learned professor of Oriental languages at Zurich²; and the contest was kept up with great vigour on either side for a considerable time. But there was too much party spirit infused into the strife to allow the combatants calmly to weigh the merits of the questions under debate. A more moderate position was taken up by Walton, the editor of the London Polyglott of 1657³, and Richard Simon the Oratorian⁴. They neither, with the Buxtorfs, upheld the absolute authority of the Masora on the one hand, nor committed themselves to the extravagances of Morinus and his friends on the other as to the excellencies of the LXX and Samaritan text, but held that the latter, though on the whole of inferior value, had nevertheless preserved readings which are to be preferred to those of the Hebrew text.

Thus matters rested for a century, when Houbi-

¹ He published the *Assertio Veritatis Hebraicae adversus J. Morini Exercitationes* in 1631, and in 1634 *Assertio Altera* in reply to Morinus' *Exercitationes Bibliae*; later again, in 1639, a *Castigatio Animadversionum Morini*.

² *Exercitationes Antimorinianae de Pent. Sam.* 1644.

³ In the Prolegomena to vol. i.

⁴ In his *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, published in 1678, but immediately suppressed by the influence of Bossuet.

gant, also a priest of the Oratory, once more resumed the old weapons of his predecessor Morinus, contending for the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch in preference to that of the received text¹: he however found more than his match in Ravius, Oriental Professor at Utrecht², and the same fate befell the Benedictine father Poncet at the hands of J. D. Michaelis³ when he commenced the discussion once more⁴: since his time no one has again ventured to put forth the same extreme views on the subject; though a few years later the depreciatory estimate of the Samaritan recension put forth by Tychsen, the famous Orientalist of Rostock⁵, was warmly disputed by Hassencamp of Rinteln, the former holding it for a mere copy of the Masoretic text, the latter on the contrary maintaining its importance and contending for the view that from it the Alexandrine version had been made⁶.

¹ In his *Biblia Hebraica* of 1753.

² *Specimen Observationum ad C. F. Hubigantii Prolegomena*, 1761; afterwards reprinted.

³ Cf. *Orient. und exeg. Bibliothek*, xxi. 177-189; Meyer, *op. cit.* v. 363.

⁴ In his *Nouveaux éclaircissements sur l'origine et le Pentateuque des Samaritains*, 1760.

⁵ *Disputatio historico-philologico-critica*, Bützow, 1765.

⁶ *Der entdeckte wahre Ursprung d. alten Bibelübersetzungen*, Minden, 1775. The dispute was continued into the present century in defence of the Samaritan Pentateuch by Alex. à S. Aqui-

In the course of this protracted discussion, extending over a space of two centuries, the merits and demerits of the Samaritan text had been keenly disputed by the various combatants and many personalities exchanged between them, but till the time of Gesenius no one seems to have attempted the only satisfactory solution of the question. To him the happy idea presented itself of subjecting the recension to a rigid analysis, and arranging its variations under different heads. Later writers who have approached the subject have in some respects modified and amended his conclusions, but no one has succeeded in upsetting the general result at which he arrived, that out of the many hundreds of various readings presented in this text some three or four solitary ones, though of little importance, may be genuine, the rest being due in the first instance to improvements introduced for the sake of avoiding obscurities, and secondly to the Samaritans' ignorance of grammar and exegesis, and to alterations made by them in the interest of their national religion¹.

lino, Lobstein, Geddes, Ilgen, and Bertholdt ; the opposite side being maintained by Vater, Eichhorn, Bauer, and Jahn.

¹ In his *De Pent. Sam. Origine, &c.* (1815), pp. 26 sqq., he enumerates eight heads of variations:—

(1) Grammatical emendations, such as the insertion of quiescents, בְּ- for בַּ-, תְּ- for תַּ-, &c.; the substitution of commoner for rarer forms of the pronouns, as נְהִנָּה for נְהִנָּה ; of the longer

But with the question of the comparative merits of the two texts, is bound up another which has

for the apocopated future, as וַתַּגְנֵד for common for archaic forms, as שָׁבֵנִי for שָׁבֵן (Deut. xxxiii. 16), חִיתִי for חִית (Gen. i. 24); alterations of genders, of common nouns to masculine or feminine, e. g. לְחַם to masc. (Gen. xlix. 20), אַרְצִן to fem. (*ibid.* xiii. 6), נֶעֶר, in the sense of girl, to girl; the infinitive absolute is changed into a finite verb, as וַיַּשְׁבַּט הַלְּקָח וַיַּשְׁבַּט (Gen. viii. 3) into וַיַּדְעַ הַלְּכָה וַיַּשְׁבַּט (*ibid.* xliii. 7) into the meaningless הַיְדָעַ נֶדֶע; common forms are substituted for unusual, as עַלְהָ תָּאַנְחָה (ibid. ii. 7) for עַלְיָתָה, &c.

(2) Glosses received into the text, some being found in the LXX also, others in various versions and Jewish commentaries, most of them therefore the result of exegetical tradition; as זָכָר for זָכַר וְאַתָּה (ibid. vii. 2), when spoken of animals; וַיַּאֲהַלְלֵךְ אֶת־אָבָרָם (ibid. xiii. 18) becomes וַיַּלְלֵךְ אֶת־אָבָרָם.

(3) Conjectural emendations of difficulties; as for הלְבָן מִזְחָה (ibid. xvii. 17) שָׁנִים יוֹלֵד (ibid. xvii. 17) is substituted.

(4) Words corrected or supplied from parallel passages, as לֹא אַשְׁחִית (ibid. xviii. 29) becomes לֹא אַשְׁחִית according to ver. 28.

(5) Insertions of long passages derived from the same source; for instances see above, p. 41, note 3.

(6) Alterations to add dignity to the patriarchs, e. g. in the antediluvian chronology of Gen. v, none is allowed to beget his first-born son after the age of 150, consequently years are cut off before the event and added after, as is required. No post-diluvian patriarch, on the other hand (chap. xi), may beget a son before he is 50, nor may in either case a patriarch live longer than his father. Or changes are made for the greater glory of God, as (Gen. ii. 2) 'on the *sixth* day God ended his work,' instead of seventh, lest He should be thought to have worked on the Sabbath.

(7) Samaritanisms; the substitution of one guttural for

already been incidentally noticed, that of the relation of the LXX to the Samaritan Pentateuch,

another, as for **הַרְתָּת** אַרְתָּת (Gen. viii. 4); of forms of the verb especially Samaritan, as צָחַקְתִּי for צָחַקְתָּ (ibid. xviii. 16); אַיְבָרְתִּי for הַאֲבָרְתִּי (Exod. xx. 24).

(8) Alterations in support of Samaritan doctrines; e.g. in the interests of monotheism אֱלֹהִים may never (as in Gen. xx. 13) be joined to a plural, only a singular verb; or to avoid anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms, thus יְעַזֵּן אֱלֹהִים יְהֹהָה (Deut. xxix. 19) becomes יְהֹהָה אֱלֹהִים; יְהֹרָא אֱלֹהִים (Num. xxii. 20) becomes יְהֹרָא אֱלֹהִים; 'Take all the heads of the people and hang them up before the Lord' becomes 'Order that the men be slain that were joined unto Baalpeor,' lest God should seem to have ordered the punishment of the innocent with the guilty, or Moses to have been directed to act himself as executioner. Other instances will be found below when the Samaritan commentaries are discussed. Four readings alone of the Samaritan Pentateuch Gesenius is inclined to prefer to the corresponding ones of the Masoretic text; the insertion of נִלְבָּה הַשְׁרָה in Gen. iv. 8 as the words of Cain; אֶל אַחֲר for אֶל אַחֲר, *ibid.* xxii. 13 (also found in five fragments of old Jewish MSS. at St. Petersburg, see *Journ. Asiat.* 1866, i. 542); חִמּוֹר נָרִים for חִמּוֹר נָרִם (*ibid.* xl ix. 14) for חִמּוֹר נָרִם, in the same sense; וַיַּדַּק אֶת חַנְכִּית (*ibid.* xiv. 14), he 'counted,' for קָרָא, he 'led forth;' all of them of very slight importance, which moreover have been rejected by later commentators; cf. Frankel, *Einfluss*, 242.

Many of the classes into which Gesenius has divided the variations are evidently cross-divisions: the number has consequently been reduced by Kohn (*De Pent. Sam.* p. 9) to three: (1) Samaritan forms of words, (2) corrections and emendations, (3) glosses and corruptions for religious purposes, and perhaps (4) blunders in orthography. Kirchheim in his *Karne Shomeron* gives them somewhat differently, making thirteen divisions.

for from the time of the first discovery of the latter, its striking resemblance in numerous passages to the Alexandrine version had been noticed by all¹.

The earliest explanation given of this fact was that the LXX had been translated from the Samaritan: this was the view of De Dieu, Selden, and Hottinger, a theory favourably regarded in later times by Hassencamp and Eichhorn, and of late revived again by Kohn. Grounds such as the following have been alleged for it.

The evidence of Origen, supported and amplified by that of St. Jerome, goes to prove that the LXX must have been translated from a Samaritan original, because that in certain MSS. of the LXX existing in their day the word **זהות** was retained in the ancient Hebrew (i. e. Samaritan) characters²,

Frankel (*Einfluss*, 238 sq.) notices, in addition to the remarks of Gesenius, the insertion of passages from Onkelos and the LXX, the latter being often mistranslated; the employment of late technical expressions from the Mischna; the improper use of the imperative, as **הקריבו** for **הקרב** (Lev. vi. 7); and the approximation in orthography and forms of words to Palestinian Aramaic, but with continual blunderings.

¹ Hassencamp (*op. cit.* p. 215) reckons up some 1900 places in which the LXX agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch. Gesenius (*op. cit.* p. 10) calculates them at more than 1000, while in as many the Hebrew and LXX agree against the Samaritan.

² See below, pp. 100-102.

not in those used at their time, Ezra, according to tradition, having introduced other letters after the captivity¹. It is clear, however, from the statement made by St. Jerome on this point that the remark of Origen can apply only to the Aramaic or square characters, not to those in use among the Samaritans, and consequently the argument based upon his words must fall to the ground.

Another reason which has been alleged in support of the LXX having been derived from a Samaritan original is that only on this supposition can its variations from the Hebrew text be explained; they must, it is said, have arisen from a confusion between letters which resemble each other in the Samaritan, and not in the square alphabet. On a closer examination, however, it will be found that although many various readings are evidently due to such mistakes between similar letters, yet that these may have occurred quite as well in the square alphabet, the error being equally possible in either case.

Or again, the following argument has been used: —the Samaritans had already brought out for their own use a Greek translation, that known under the name of *τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν*; the translators of the LXX finding this convenient for their

¹ Origen, *Hexapla*, ed. Montfaleon, i. 86; St. Jerome, *Epistola* 136 (ed. Migne, 25), *ad Marcellam*.

purpose with their imperfect knowledge of Hebrew, took it for the basis of their own translation, altering it in parts after the Hebrew original to suit their own ideas¹.

There is however a great objection to this theory, that no one knows of the existence of any such Samaritan Greek Version at so early a period of their history: there is no trace of the translation so called (even if it was a complete one, and not emendations of particular passages) before the third or fourth century A.D.² And moreover, if the foregoing sketch of the Samaritan history be trustworthy, it is most unlikely that a people, who had on all other occasions shown themselves powerless to invent, only capable of feeble imitation, should in this one instance have distanced their rivals in the production of so great a literary work

¹ Kohn, *De Pent. Sam.* p. 36.

² Kohn supposes that the additions of the LXX in Gen. xxxv. 4, *καὶ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὰ ἔως τῆς σύμερον ἡμέρας*, were originally inserted in the Samaritan Greek text to stop Jewish cavils at their idolatry, and thence copied inadvertently into the LXX: that they do not appear in the Samaritan Pentateuch because its text was then closed and the difficulty had till now been overlooked; but this gives much too early a date to the Samaritan Greek version: it is quite impossible that the LXX should have had time to copy from it by the third century B.C. The most singular theory was that of Isaiae Voss, who held that the Masoretic text was translated from the LXX: he was refuted by Hody.

as a Greek translation of the Pentateuch: it was only the versatile Jewish spirit, in such a place as Alexandria, where the union of Eastern and Western civilisation gave rise to a busy literary activity, that could have produced such a work. It is most unlikely moreover that the Jews, with their intense hatred of the Samaritans, would have received the LXX translation, manifestly grounded upon the Samaritan recension, largely departing from the Hebrew. Even if the Alexandrian Jews could have been induced to admit it, would their Palestinian brethren have received with respect a text differing widely from that to which they had been accustomed, one moreover not varying of set purpose to overcome difficulties, but ignorantly borrowed from Samaritan interpretations¹?

This explanation, accordingly, of the similarity of the two texts must be given up. The next one for consideration is the theory of Grotius, Usher, and others, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was corrected from the LXX. This is true to a certain

¹ Cf. Geiger in *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xix. 611 sq. The Samaritans would have no such scruple in borrowing and then claiming the text for their own. Abusaid continually copies from Saadiah in his Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, all the while heaping maledictions on him. The Bab. Talmud (*Megillah*, f. 9) speaks of the LXX with respect; later the Palestinian Jews became suspicious of it and unwilling to admit it into their synagogues. Frankel, *Vorstudien*, p. 61.

extent ; many passages occur in the former which bear all the marks of being interpolations from the Alexandrine version¹. But still the explanation is inadequate to solve the problem proposed ; it gives no reason for the correspondence which exists between the two texts in very many minute instances which cannot be due to alterations made in deference to religious feeling². How moreover, on this supposition, are the equally numerous passages to be accounted for in which the Samaritan Pentateuch differs from the LXX, sometimes in these cases agreeing with the Hebrew, at others departing from it³ ?

¹ E.g. Gen. xxiii. 2, עַמְקָה אֶל = בְּקִרְיַת הַאֲרָבָע אֶל πόλεις Ἀρβάνη, ἢ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ κοιλώματι : *ibid.* xxvii. 27, מְלָא = כְּרִיכַת הַשְׁדָה מְלָא ὁσμὴ ἀγροῦ πλήρους : *ibid.* xliii. 28, לְאֱלֹהִים : Exod. v. 13, אֶם תִשְׁאַחַת שָׁא : כְּאִישָׁר בְּהַיּוֹת הַתְּבִן נָתַן לְכֶם the Hebrew of these examples bears strong trace of a Samaritan origin ; see other examples of interpolations in Frankel, *Einfluss*, 161, 162, 238. On the other hand, portions of the Samaritan Greek version (see below, p. 115) have apparently found their way into the LXX ; see Frankel, *op. cit.* 108, on the insertions in Exod. xxii. 4 (5), and xxiii. 19. This fact raises a doubt whether the insertions from the LXX formed part of the original text of the Samaritan Pentateuch or were later additions.

² E.g. the conjunction וְ is added about 200 times in the Samaritan Pentateuch and omitted about half as often ; in this closely agreeing with the LXX.

³ Asaria de Rossi (in his *Meor 'Enaim*, iii. 8, 9) put forth two theories :—(1) ‘That the Alexandrian Greeks corrupted the LXX out of hostility to the Jews.’ This however must have

One theory alone remains, that suggested by Gesenius, which seems to answer fully all the requirements of the case. He supposes that both the LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch were derived from Jewish MSS. which bore a great resemblance to each other but contained a text varying from that preserved in our Hebrew Pentateuch. The origin of this difference, he thinks, is to be sought for in the misdirected zeal of revisers and their endeavours to make the text run smoothly and harmoniously, and it was in this manner he considers that many glosses and conjectural emendations found their way into the text. Add to this the blunders of successive generations, made especially in the mistaking of similar letters, and a satisfactory explanation can be given of the divergence of the LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch from the older and more difficult readings which were religiously

been done before the time of Philo, and so the authors of the corruption must have been heathen: but why should they have troubled themselves about the matter, or who would have trusted their work? The variations of the LXX also imply ignorance more than deliberate falsification. (2) 'That the LXX was rendered from an Aramaean translation dating from the time of Ezra, the inaccuracies, paraphrases, and corruptions of which caused the variations in the Alexandrine text.' No trace however of such a version exists, and the variations of the LXX seem to originate partly from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew and partly from following a different text. Frankel, *Vorst.* 33 sq.

preserved in the MSS. of Jerusalem. That the copy which came into the hands of the Samaritans and that which found its way to Alexandria may have originally differed from each other is quite possible, and both may have received subsequent corrections at the hands of their owners. The Samaritans, it is evident, set about the work of revising their Pentateuch without scruple, and the Alexandrine Jews may not have been entirely guiltless with regard to their own copies¹. It is quite possible also that the two texts were more alike formerly: that of the LXX had become much corrupted even in Origen's time, and it is very probable that his exertions have partly contributed to its still further decay from the reception of many of his glosses and corrections into the text itself².

To the question of the time at which the Pentateuch first passed into the hands of the Samaritans, about which so many theories have been held³, no satisfactory answer can be given: if however the view maintained above be correct,

¹ In the Prophets and Hagiographa the LXX varies from the Hebrew still more than in the Pentateuch. *Ibid.* 36.

² Gesenius, *op. cit.* p. 14; Montfalcon, *Prelim. in Hexapl.* cap. iv.

³ From the ten tribes they succeeded, or from the priest sent by the king of Assyria during the lion-plague (2 Kings xvii), or from Manasseh their first high-priest Smith's *Bible Dict.* iii. 1112; Herzfeld, *op. cit.* iii. 53; Gesenius, *op. cit.* 3.

that Samaritan doctrines were not of home growth but a late importation from Judaea after Sadducaean views had had time to develop themselves there, then it would seem to be highly probable that the Pentateuch also found its way at a late date into Samaria. However this may be, it is quite certain that it cannot have assumed its present form till it had been subjected to long and continued revisions by its new possessors.

With regard to the question incidentally alluded to above, the discontinuance by the Jews of the old Hebrew, or as it is now called Samaritan, character for transcribing their Law, the testimony of the Talmud, Samaritans, and Fathers is unanimous in ascribing it to the age of Ezra¹. It is

¹ *Bab. Sanhedr.* f. 21 and 22. ‘At first the Law was given to Israel in the Hebrew writing and in the holy language: once more again in the time of Ezra in the Assyrian writing and the Aramaean language. Israel then chose the Assyrian writing and the holy language, leaving to the ignorant the Hebrew writing and the Aramaean language. Who are the ignorant? R. Hasda says the Samaritans. What is the Hebrew writing? R. Hasda says that of the Libonai;’ i. e. according to Rashi, that of the inhabitants of Libanus; the character employed in writing amulets and mezuzoth. (See Luzzatto in Kirchheim, *op. cit.* 111.) Again, ‘Although the Law was not given through him (Ezra), yet the writing was changed by him. Why is it called Assyrian? Because it was brought up with them from Assyria?’ Chaldaea and Babylonia being included under the wider name of Assyria. Here and in *Jer. Megillah*, i. 11, the ‘Hebrew’ character is

clear from Neh. viii. 8 that a change in the language had then taken place¹. The Hebrew which till the captivity had been spoken in Jerusalem, the language in which the Law was written, had during the exile been so much modified by admixture with cognate Aramaean dialects that the grandchildren of those who had been carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar found it hard to understand the ancient language of the Scriptures, and had thus become dependent for an explanation of them upon the more learned portion of the community. With this new Aramaic dialect a corresponding alphabet also probably had come into use, and it was in this most likely, not in the square character of three or four centuries later, that Ezra according to tradition commenced

termed 'broken.' Other derivations are given of the name 'Assyrian.' R. Jehuda the Holy (*B. Sanh. ibid.*) says it was so termed as being the 'blessed;' Abr. de Balmis and J. D. Michaelis as 'upright:' it is also termed the 'square' character. For Samaritan testimony cf. Eichhorn, *Repertorium*, xiii. 266, 288. Origen (*Hexapl.* i. 86, ed. Montfalcon) says, 'They say that Ezra used other (letters) after the captivity.' So Jerome, in his *Prolog. to the Kings*. For the whole subject see Lenormant, *Alphabet Phénicien*, i. 176 sq., 282 sq.; Herzfeld, iii. 76; and the article on 'Writing' in Smith's *Dict.* iii. 1788.

¹ 'They read in the book, in the Law of God distinctly and gave the sense, and caused (them) to understand the reading.' Herzfeld (iii. 58) does not so interpret the passage; he thinks that Hebrew was still spoken by the Jews on their return from Babylon, and that Aramaean did not come in till later.

the practice of transcribing copies of the Law¹. The former character still continued to be used on coins, just as Latin still appears on our present money, long after the general use of it has died out². But the Samaritans could not afford to give it up. With a reputation to acquire as the genuine representatives of ancient Israel they naturally clung to everything which would seem in any way to support their claim; even to the present day they employ a form of it for the transcription of the Law³.

It may be of interest, before passing on to other

¹ It has been suggested by Phil. Luzzatto as an additional reason for the change of alphabet, besides the fact that the Aramaic may have now been more familiar to the Jews, that it became desirable to be able to distinguish the Jewish copies of the Law from those altered by the Samaritans. Jost, i. 52, note.

² They were also likely to be used in neighbouring countries, such as Phoenicia, where an almost identical alphabet was in use; hence it would be convenient to keep the old character. Herzfeld, iii. 89. The old thick shekels, with inscriptions in a character resembling the Samaritan, though with differences, which have been attributed by Cavedoni, Levy, and Madden to Simon Maccabaeus (B.C. 138), are now assigned by Vaux, De Sauley, and Lenormant to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. They differ materially in execution from the thin ones struck by the Maccabees. This alphabet was employed on Jewish coins as late as the revolts under Titus and Hadrian.

³ The Sidonian element also (see Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5. 5) in the Samaritan people may have had something to do with the retention of the character so nearly resembling the Phoenician.

subjects, to give some particulars as to the extant MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The first which found its way to Europe was purchased, as before observed, at Damascus in 1616 by Pietro della Valle, and a few years later was presented by Achille Harley de Sancy to the library of the Oratory at Paris. After appearing in the Paris Polyglott Bible of 1645, it was twelve years afterwards reprinted by Walton in the London Polyglott¹. Since that time many more copies have been brought into the West, and most of the public libraries of Europe now possess some specimens of this Pentateuch either in fragments or complete codices². All of these are written on

¹ The text of the Pentateuch in the Paris Polyglott was very indifferently edited by Morinus, being prepared from this MS. alone, with a Latin translation appended which was intended to serve for both the Pentateuch and Targum, though in many places they widely differ. Morinus endeavoured later to supply some of its deficiencies by the publication of his 'Variae Lectiones,' which appeared among his 'Opuscula' in 1657, derived from a collation of four other MSS. The Pentateuch text in the London Polyglott of the same year is almost an exact reprint of the Paris one, only the most glaring typographical blunders having been corrected, but a much more complete and exact list of variations was appended, the Latin version to some extent amended, and the deviations of the Targum from the Pentateuch noted.

² Kennicott's list of the MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch existing in his time in European libraries, with some additions, is to be found in Smith's *Dict.* iii. 1113.

separate leaves, none are in the shape of rolls. At Nablus however, as is well known from the descriptions of modern travellers, there is still preserved in the synagogue, and only brought out with much solemnity on certain festivals, an ancient parchment roll, purporting by its inscription to have been written by the hand of the great-grandson of Aaron himself, thirteen years after the original settlement of the Israelites in Canaan¹! It is written on the hair-side of the

¹ 'I, Abisha, son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest—upon them be the favour of Jehovah—in His honour I wrote this holy Law at the entrance of the Tabernacle of Testimony on Mount Garizim, even Bethel, in the thirteenth year of the taking possession of the land of Canaan and all its boundaries about it by the children of Israel.' (Letter of Meschalmah ben Ab Sehuah in Heidenheim, i. 88; cf. also *Not. et Extr.* xii. p. 179.) This inscription was not to be found in the time of Huntington's visit in 1671 (*Epist.* pp. 49, 56). It had been there, so the Samaritans told him, but had been erased by some evil-minded person. It has lately been found again, we are told, by Messrs. Kraus and Levysohn, who saw the famous MS. in 1860 while it was being transferred from its old case to a new one. They obtained a collation of Deut. xix. 8 sq. from the priest's nephew, and restored the character, as they best could, from memory, not being able to procure an exact tracing. Their description of it and facsimile are given by Dr. Rosen in the *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xviii. p. 582. It has been thought that it may have been written for Manasseh's Temple on Garizim, but it is most improbable that the MS. can be so old. Some guess as to its age might perhaps be made if a photograph could be

skins of some twenty rams that served as thank-offerings, so says the priest. They are of unequal size, some containing five, some six columns of writing, worn quite thin, torn and in holes, blackened as if ink has been spilt over it: perhaps some half of the whole MS. may still be legible. Other old MSS. are also mentioned as existing there; one has the date of A.H. 35 (=A.D. 655) inscribed on it; another claims to be the very identical copy of the Law which figured in the trial between Zerubbabel and Sanballat in the presence of the king of Babylon, when the respective merits of the Jewish and Samaritan versions were in dispute, as is truthfully set forth in the 'book of Joshua'; still bearing on its worn page the mark where Zerubbabel spat upon it in order to break the charm, after it had twice sprung unhurt from the fire into which he had

procured of it which could be compared with other old MSS. This the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund are said already to have done (see *Journal of Sacred Literature*, x. p. 240); it is however very doubtful whether they have obtained one from the genuine MS. Mr. Mills, who spent some weeks at Nablus, says he saw *three* rolls kept in similar cases. Dr. Wilson was shewn one in *leaves*, and told it was the famous old one! An endeavour was made to impose on Robinson (ii. 281) also. The same happened to 'T. L. D.' also, as described by him in the *Times* of April 6, 1874. He speaks most severely of the greed, ignorance, and laziness of the Samaritans.

thrown it: the third time it came out again undamaged, only the spot was scorched¹. It is held in great veneration by the Samaritans; the priest's blessing in Num. vi. 22 has become black from the frequent kisses of the worshippers.

Next after an account of the Samaritan Pentateuch itself will come that of the various translations it underwent, into Samaritan, Greek, and Arabic. Of the date and origin of the first of these no more satisfactory explanation can be given than of the Pentateuch itself. It no doubt must have been submitted to many revisions and modifications before it reached the form in which we now possess it, but in its first beginnings it probably was long anterior to the Christian era. The Samaritans, it must be remembered, were in the same condition as the Jews: each nation was

¹ Rosen, *l. c.* This identical MS. was a few years ago offered to the Bodleian for the modest sum of £500; but the bid was not accepted. The same author (*D. M. G.* xiv. 622) gives a description of two ancient stone tablets, one containing the Ten Commandments in an abbreviated form (cf. Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschr.*, iii. 486, for the description of a similar MS.), built into the wall of a mosque at Nablus; the other is apparently of later date, found not long ago in a rubbish heap; it contains the ten commands of Gen. i; it probably belonged to some former synagogue. Dr. R. thinks them to be anterior to the time of Justinian, Dr. Blau (*D. M. G.* xiii. 275) to have belonged to the Temple on Garizim destroyed by Hyrcanus. For a further account of the synagogue rolls see below, p. 155.

in the possession of sacred books which were unintelligible to the mass of the people. In consequence of this there very early arose among the Jews, as we know, the custom, instituted according to Talmudical tradition by Ezra himself¹, of introducing extemporary translations of certain portions of the Law into the synagogue services. In process of time a body of well-known and recognised renderings of Scripture thus came into being, which were however for many centuries preserved by oral tradition only, not being committed to writing for fear they should gain an undue influence and overshadow the authority of the Law itself. Gradually however this scruple was overborne by a feeling of the grave inconvenience which might ensue from the prevalence of unsatisfactory expositions, and thus the earliest Targum which we possess, that of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, was first committed to writing, probably about the third century A.D., in the schools of Babylon².

The same causes were no doubt operating in

¹ For references see Smith's *Dict.* iii. 1638. The passage in Neh. viii. 8 is thus explained: “‘they read in the book of the Law’—this is Mikra (the original reading in the Pentateuch); ‘בְּפָרָשָׁה, clearly’—this is Targum.” *Bab. Meg.* 3 a; *Bab. Ned.* 37 b.

² This however is disputed, many holding the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the prophets to be older.

Samaria as well to produce a similar result, and it is not unreasonable to ascribe the original redaction of the Samaritan Targum to about the same time as that of Onkelos, or perhaps a little earlier. Later it cannot well be, for the Samaritan Greek version which appears to have been formed on it, is already quoted by Fathers of the third and fourth centuries. Samaritan tradition apparently ascribes it to a certain Nathanael who died about 20 B.C.¹, but to this testimony no importance need be ascribed. From the many Arabisms which occur in this version it has been held to be even subsequent to the Mohammedan invasion of 632²: it is possible however that these may be interpolations, not parts of the original text. It must also be remembered that the Samaritans were a mixed race, with Arabs included among them³, and that possibly the translator himself may have been one. Many hands seem to have been employed

¹ Winer, *De vers. Sam. indele*, p. 9; Juynboll, in *Orientalia* (1846), ii. 116.

² Frankel (in *Verhandlungen d. ersten Versammlung deutscher und ausl. Orientalisten in Dresden*, 1844) holds that, before the dominion of the Arabs, Arabic expressions seldom occur in Chaldee and Palestinian authors; that the Targums, Midrashim, and Talmud know them not. R. Lewi alone among Midrash authors explains by means of Arabic.

³ Cf. 'Geshem the Arabian,' Neh. ii. 19 and vi. 1; 'the Arabians,' *ibid.* iv. 7. Cf. Kohn, *Samaritanische Studien*, p. 60.

upon it before it assumed its present form : the first thirty chapters of Genesis are apparently the oldest¹, containing many so-called Samaritan words which cannot be traced to any known source : differences in the use of the conjunctions are observable in the various books : mistakes which occur in the rendering of one passage do not repeat themselves in the parallel phrase of another book. At some period or other the version has been greatly indebted to that of Onkelos, so much so that many critics, such as Hottinger, Eichhorn, and Kirchheim, have held it to have been copied from it. This however seems to be rather an overstating of the case : it is true that *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* and words of uncertain meaning are often rendered by identical or similar expressions in both : moreover when Onkelos borrows from Jewish tradition, the Samaritan Targum often follows him. And yet the two are independent ; the latter falls into serious blunders from which the version of Onkelos should have protected it ; it often retains difficulties of the Hebrew text where the other gives a translation. It would seem therefore to have been at the outset an original translation, but in course of time and during the various manipulations it underwent to have been interpolated largely from the version

¹ Kohn, *ibid.* pp. 18 sq.

prevalent among the Jews. It is in general minutely literal, not however always following the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, but sometimes deserting it for the Hebrew, although in so doing it displays very little skill or knowledge of the language, falling occasionally into the most grotesque blunders from a confusion of similar words¹. The sense of numberless easy passages is perverted; in difficult ones the Hebrew is retained or rendered by equally ambiguous words, or by such as refuse to have a certain meaning affixed to them by a comparison with cognate dialects. In the style of translation it comes between the prolixity of the Targumists and the slavish literalness of Aquila: like the Pentateuch, it is careful to avoid phrases which might seem to impair the reverence due to the Deity by the imputation of human feelings or parts, and also to change expressions which might be thought to savour of indelicacy into others more suitable to the dignity of

¹ e.g. in Deut. i. 44, 'דברים' (Deb. 44), 'bees,' is confounded with 'words,' and translated **טלה** (Lev. xxi. 2), 'to leave you a remnant,' is rendered **חמיין** (Gen. xlvi. 11), 'dough,' as in Lev. xxi. 2, a 'blood-relation,' is confounded with **עמר** (Gen. xliii. 11), 'anger' and 'even,' are confused (Lev. xxvi. 44), and **אפוא** (ibid. xxxi. 27), rendered **בשים** (Gen. iii. 7) is confounded with **שניהם** (ibid. xxxi. 27), with 'songs,' is rendered **יר שהדותא** (Num. xix. 6) is rendered 'two worms' instead of 'scarlet wool.'

the subject. For purposes of exegesis the version is entirely useless: it is simply interesting as faithfully representing the religious ideas and literary progress of that strange offshoot and counterfeit of Israel, the Samaritan people; valuable also for philological purposes as being the most trustworthy monument of an important Semitic dialect, though of only a debased one which has not a literature worthy of the name. It is to this Targum always that recourse must principally be had for settling the forms of the Samaritan language, though it is an unsatisfactory witness to them from the number of Hebraisms it contains and the interpolations it has undergone; but all the later documents we possess are still more untrustworthy from the uncertainty attending their age and the possibility that they may have been written while the language was no longer spoken¹. It is of considerable importance therefore that we should possess a thoroughly critical edition of the text, and it is as a contribution to this end that the present fragment has been edited.

The oldest MSS. hitherto known to exist are both at Rome, the Barberini triglott and the Vatican. The former was bought by Peiresc at Damascus in 1631, and bequeathed by him to

¹ Cf. Nöldeke in Geiger's *Zeitschr.* vi. 204 sq.

Cardinal Barberini, in whose library it still remains. It is written on parchment, with the Hebrew-Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, the Arabic version of Abusaid, and the Samaritan Targum in three parallel columns. It is imperfect: the oldest parts were written in A.D. 1226, and the end of Deuteronomy was supplied by a later hand in 1482. It has never been published: only a single page of it, with some of the variations of its Targum and Pentateuch, and a specimen of the Arabic version, have as yet appeared¹.

The Vatican MS. was bought by Pietro della Valle at Damascus in 1616: it is much later than the one just described, on paper, dated 1514 A.D., with considerable lacunae of words and even verses². This is the only text that has ever been

¹ It is described by De Sacy in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* t. 49, p. 3; by J. B. de Rossi at the end of his *Specimen Varr. Lett.* (1783); by Adler in his *Bibl. Krit. Reise* (1783), p. 139. A triple page was transcribed by Blanchini in his *Evangeliarium* (1749), ii. 604. See also Hwiid, *Specimen ined. vers. Arab. Sam. Pent.* (1780). It seems to have been lost at the end of the last century, but has since reappeared. Some of the variations of its Pentateuch and Targum may be found in Castellus' *Animadvt. Samar.* in vol. vi. of the London Polyglott of 1657, and also in Morinus' *Opuscula Hebr. Sam.* (1657), pp. 103-196, cf. also p. 96. The text has lately been collated by Heidenheim with a view to its publication.

² It is fully described in Assemani, *Bibl. Vatican. Catal.* i. 1. p. 464.

published: it appeared in the Paris Polyglott of 1645, and was thence copied, without however a fresh collation of the MS., into the London Polyglott of 1657. The most glaring blunders were, it is true, corrected by conjecture in the process of revision by the editor Castellus, but the results are eminently unsatisfactory¹. The Latin translation also, being intended to serve as a version both of the Hebrew-Samaritan text of the Pentateuch and also of the Samaritan Targum, is not to be depended upon. It is hoped therefore that the publication of the present very ancient fragment may prove of some assistance for a future critical edition of the Targum².

The MS. is undated, but from the character of the writing and condition of the parchment it is in all probability considerably older than the Barberini triglott. From the circumstance that no Arabic translation, as in the case of the MS. just mentioned, appears by the side of the Samaritan text, it may be conjectured that it was copied at a time when the language was still

¹ See Kohn, *op. cit.* p. 22 sq.

² Prof. Petermann of Berlin is publishing an edition from MSS. collated by him at Nablus; they are on parchment, I understand, and of the seventeenth century. Genesis only has as yet been published. Dr. A. Brüll also is reprinting at Frankfurt-am-Main Walton's text in Hebrew characters; Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus have already appeared.

understood, and had not as yet been superseded by Arabic. In the character of the writing it resembles the ancient MSS. still existing at Nablus described by Dr. Rosen¹. The text varies very considerably from that of the Vatican MS., and also from the printed specimens of the Barberini fragment. It has unfortunately suffered many corrections from a later hand, most frequently in grammatical forms, sometimes in whole words²; but as they have not been carried out with consistency it has generally been possible by comparison with other parts of the MS. to restore the original form with certainty. In all such parts of the MS. as are in good preservation the corrections are easily to be detected, and these are distinguished in the printed text by round brackets: additions made by the editor from conjecture are enclosed in square brackets: as this has been done with the greatest care, the present text may be relied upon as a faithful reproduction of the original. The punctuation of the MS. may be seen from the photograph appended. I find no

¹ See above, p. 104, note 1. The facsimile on the frontispiece is the exact size of the original. The MS. is numbered Opp. Add. 8vo. 29. When it first came into the possession of the Bodleian it had but thirty-nine leaves, another has lately been added by the liberality of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, in whose collection it was found.

² See the notes appended to the text *passim*, especially p. 25.

traces of any such elaborate system as is described by the Abbé Bargès in his notice of some fragments of a Samaritan Pentateuch in his possession, nor are the vowels marked¹. Occasionally however, not always, the masculine and feminine possessive pronouns are distinguished from each other, the former by a dot, the latter by a line, over the *נ*. The marginal notes are of the same age as the body of the MS., but they have in many cases become illegible, and the sense of those which can be deciphered is often very obscure².

The second translation in order of time which the Pentateuch underwent at the hands of the Samaritans was that into Greek: whether, like the LXX in the case of the Jews, for the benefit of the flourishing community of Alexandria³ is uncertain. By many writers its existence has

¹ *Notice sur deux fragments d'un Pentateuque Hébreu-Samaritain* (1865), p. 15. Ewald (*Götting. Nachrichten*, 1867, p. 221) thinks many of the signs noticed by Bargès to be identical, and the whole question doubtful. The Samaritan use of diacritie points is described by Geiger, *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xxi. 172.

² I had hoped to have added to this edition another fragment belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which a notice appeared in the *Journ. Asiat.* (1870), p. 525; it is to be found in the Catalogue of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. of Trinity College, p. 234. Not however having succeeded in procuring the loan of the MS. I have been obliged to bring out the present one by itself.

³ See above, p. 26.

been denied¹, and the quotations² of Fathers of the third and fourth centuries from τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν have been understood to refer to the version of Symmachus, or the Samaritan Targum, or the Pentateuch, or the LXX³. It is doubtful whether it was a complete version or only consisted of emendations of particular passages; possibly the latter, and if so, it may have related to difficulties in the Samaritan Targum⁴.

The third translation was into Arabic. At first the Samaritans did not scruple to use the translation of Saadiah, who died in A.D. 942, but in the succeeding century⁵ Abusaid set about preparing

¹ e. g. Isaac Vossius. His theory is ably discussed by R. Simon in his *Hist. Critique du V. T.* (1680), p. 261.

² They are to be found collected in Hottinger, *Exercit. Antimorin.* p. 29; see also Eichhorn's *Einleitung*, i. p. 388; Walton, *Prolegg. to London Polyglott*, xi. 22.

³ Winer, *De vers. Sam. indole*, p. 7. Nöldeke, in the *Götting. Gel. Anzeig.* (1865), p. 1312, considers the Σαμαρειτικόν to be the Hebrew text as received from the Samaritans. De Wette, *Einleitung ins A. T.* (1852), 89, doubts whether it was an independent translation, or extracts from the Samaritan Targum, or corrections of the LXX. Epiphanius (*De Mens. et Pond.* p. 172) mentions that Symmachus, in the time of Severus, made his version after the Samaritan [? Greek] translation, but this seems doubtful. Origen takes no notice of it, though mentioning the Hebrew-Samaritan text. Eichhorn, i. p. 387.

⁴ Kohn, *De Pent. Sam.* p. 68; Winer, *De vers. Sam.* p. 7.

⁵ Probably about 1070. Saadiah was an Egyptian Jew; Abusaid was also in all probability of the same country. Cf.

one which should be more in accordance with the tastes of his Samaritan countrymen. He appears to have employed the Hebrew-Samaritan text, the Targum, and also Saadiah (when the latter does not differ from the Samaritan), though he never quotes him without abusing him. Like his countrymen generally, he is careful to alter phrases which seem to impute human qualities or parts to the Deity, or in any sort to offend against delicacy: like them, he loses no opportunity of exalting the position of Moses, nor depressing the dignity of Judah. He occasionally substitutes later geographical names for those of the text: his style is marked by many vulgarisms, and many Hebrew and Samaritan expressions are to be found in it. About the year 1208 his translation underwent a revision at the hands of Abu-l-barakat, in Syria as is generally supposed, receiving both corrections and annotations from him: the two versions became intermixed, and are now not to be distinguished from each other.

Next in importance to the Pentateuch and its translations will come the historical literature of the Samaritans comprised in various chronicles

Juynboll, in *Orientalia*, ii. 116. The three first books of the Pentateuch according to Abusaid's rendering have been edited by Kuenen. It is described by De Saey in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* vol. xlix, and by Van Vloten in his *Specimen Philologicum*, 1803.

which have come down to us. In them however it will be a mistake to look for any sober narrative of facts : nothing was further from the mind of a Samaritan chronicler than to give an exact relation of past events. His object was rather to stir up the minds of his degenerate countrymen to an emulation of the mythical past glories of their race and the heroic deeds of their ancestors, to console them in their present troubles by the hope that, when like their forefathers they returned to the earnest study of the Law and practice of its requirements, the same Divine favour would be shewn them as had attended the nation in the happy and glorious days of old. He has no idea of a continuous narrative, but selects passages of past history which will best suit the purpose of his tale. These he chooses from any source which may be open to him, chiefly from the Bible and Jewish legend, distorting, amplifying, and omitting till the result proves satisfactory to his taste. In accordance with Oriental fashion he endeavours to enliven his narration by the introduction of hymns and proverbs, and for the same purpose he puts long speeches into the mouths of his heroes. His efforts, however well meant, prove highly unsatisfactory ; he only succeeds in producing a dull, wordy parody of a chronicle, full of the most astounding historical blunders.

All these characteristics are found exemplified

in the ‘Samaritan Chronicle,’ or ‘Book of Joshua’ as it is termed, composed in all probability in Egypt at the close of the thirteenth century¹: so termed because its greater part is occupied with narrating the glories of Joshua, the successor of the one great prophet of Israel, himself born of the tribe of Ephraim and therefore unconnected with the hated Judah, in whose time Shechem and Garizim derived new honours from the solemn rites and ceremonies there performed by him. After a short preface, the book relates Joshua’s assumption of office, the history of Balaam, and the slaughter of the Midianites, in the main following the Biblical account, though with many amplifications, such as the falling down of the wall of Midian at the blast of the trumpet, Balaam being found within the temple speechless from terror, and his slaughter by the soldiers against the desire of Joshua. Next comes an account of the last words of Moses, Joshua’s lamentation over him, the renewal of the covenant between God and Israel, the ordering of the army, the

¹ Published by Juynboll (Leyden, 1848) from an Arabic MS. written in Samaritan character, the earlier part of which is dated A.D. 1362, the latter 1513 (there is another copy in the British Museum, dated 1502). The author appears to have woven into his book one Samaritan and three other Arabic chronicles, besides employing commentaries on the Pentateuch and annals of the priests.

sending out of the spies (who endeavour to scare the Canaanites to flight by tales of what Israel had done to Sihon and Og, Midian and Moab), the passage of the Jordan, the taking of Jericho, the theft of Achan, who steals 2250 lbs. weight of gold (though no mention is made of Ai), the craft of the Gibeonites, the slaughter of the Canaanites, and the division of the land between the several tribes. This part of the narration ends with the appointment of Nabih as king of the tribes east of Jordan, and for the next twenty years Israel enjoys a profound peace, all wending their way thrice in each year with joy and gladness to the 'Mount of Blessing.' This calm is broken by a formidable confederacy of the king of Persia, the greater Armenia, the lesser Rumia (Asia Minor), and others against Israel; they send a challenge to Joshua, who is greatly alarmed at the missive, but puts on a bold face before the messenger and sends back a defiant reply: in an hour's time he mounts 300,000 men, the half of Israel, and seeks his foes, but is by magic surrounded by seven walls of iron. Nabih however, the king of Israel on the other side of Jordan, informed of his danger by a letter brought to him by a dove, soon comes to the rescue, slays Shaubak the king of Persia by throwing a dart up into the air which in its fall transfixes man and horse, and piercing the ground causes a fountain to burst

forth. The walls raised by magic art collapse at the first blast of the priests' trumpets, at Joshua's bidding the light stays, the winds aid him, the enemies' swords turn against them, and a mighty slaughter ensues so that the horses wade in blood to their nostrils, and the enemy are utterly destroyed. During the happy reign of Joshua, which with that of his nine successors lasted for 260 years, Israel observed the Law, kept the Sabbaths and Feasts, observed the sabbatical year and the payment of tithes, all crime was immediately detected, the sacrifices were duly offered on Garizim. But after the reign of Samson, the handsomest and strongest of all the kings, Israel falls into sin, the divine glory disappears from the Temple, 'Ozi the high-priest hides the sacred vessels in a cave on Garizim, Eli the apostate priest builds an opposition temple at Shiloh, and, after instructing his pupil Samuel in all the magical arts in which he himself excelled, perishes at receiving the news of the death of his impious sons in battle and the loss of the ark. The chronicle now makes a leap of some hundreds of years to the time of Bokhtonâṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) king of Persia, who reigned at Mausul. He carries away, not Judah, but Israel into captivity; but on the complaint of the new colonists that a blight rested upon the produce of the land, suffers Israel, to the number of 300,000, to return,

the colonists making way for them. The Jews wish to build a temple at Jerusalem, the rest of Israel on Garizim, and on an appeal to the King the famous trial of the merits of Sanballat's and Zerubbabel's copies of the Law is made in his presence, when the latter is at once burnt on being cast into the flames, the former jumps out thrice unhurt¹; Judah repents, and all Israel worships on Garizim. Then comes another break in the narrative till the time of Alexander, the whole of whose history as it appears in the chronicle is borrowed from Jewish history. Thus the Samaritans, and not the Jews, refuse to break their league with Persia and give aid to Alexander²: he marches against Shechem, not Jerusalem, but spares it, overawed by the dignity of the Samaritan, not the Jewish high-priest, whose figure had appeared to him in dreams and promised him victory. The tale of Alexander's three days' journey to the land of darkness, the dust of which was rubies and pearls³; of his ascending to the clouds in a car

¹ See above, p. 105.

² Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 8. 3. There it is told how the Jewish high-priest Jaddua refuses to break his league with Darius, which Sanballat (*ibid.* 4) at once does. Alexander marches against Jerusalem, but at the sight of Jaddua prostrates himself before him (*ibid.* 4, 5).

³ To be found with variations in *Tamid.* 32 a, and Josephus ben Gorion, ii. 16.

drawn by eagles who rose or fell according as the lumps of flesh which they endeavoured to catch were held above or below them¹; the device by which the priests evaded the king's injunction of erecting statues to him by calling all new-born sons by his name²—all these can be traced to Jewish sources, whence they have been drawn by the Samaritan chronicler for his own purposes. Next follows a narrative of the great revolt under Hadrian, during which Jerusalem falls into his hands by means of two Samaritans; a confusion probably with the capture of Bettar, as the latter is said to have been betrayed by Samaritan intrigue³. The whole concludes with a short account of the high-priest 'Aqbun, his son Nathanael, and grandson Baba Rabba, the last of whom was born in grievous times, when the Roman hand lay heavy upon the Samaritans, when circumcision was forbidden, and no worshipper might approach the holy mountain, a miraculous bird being set there to warn the Roman guards when a Samaritan approached, who thereupon would issue forth and kill him. Baba Rabba endeavours to alleviate his country's sorrows,

¹ *Jer. 'Aboda Zara*, iii. 1. This was a common mediaeval legend; it is related of Nimrod by the Moslems; cf. Weil, *Bibl. Legend.* p. 77.

² Also to be found in *Josephus ben Gorion*, ii. 7.

³ Ewald, *Gesch.* vii. (1868), p. 418.

and sends his nephew Levi to Constantinople, there to acquire all the learning of the enemy, that, concealing his birth and faith, he might rise to honour, and returning to Nablus, destroy the fatal bird, and thus enable his countrymen to ascend the mountain and obtain by their prayers deliverance from the enemy. In this he completely succeeds, and the narrative breaks off abruptly at the point when, after thirteen years' absence, he pays a visit as Archbishop to Nablus. The above sketch will shew how much genuine light we may expect to have shed upon Samaritan history by the truthfulness and historical skill of native chroniclers.

The next chronicle to be noticed, *El-Tholidoth*¹, or *The (book of) Generations*, is of a more modest character. In the first instance it professes to have been written by Eleazar ben Amram in (A.H. 544 =) 1149 A.D., copied and continued by Jacob ben Ismael 200 years later, and carried down by other hands to 1859, when the present MS. was written by Jacob ben Aaron the high-priest². At

¹ Called also by Abulfath ﷺ or the 'catena.'

² Published by Neubauer in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1869, pp. 385 sq. He gives the Samaritan, or rather Hebrew, text with notes and translation, citing the Arabic translation when the sense is not clear. His text is that of the Bodleian MS. numbered *Boll. Or. 651*, collated in some passages with one belonging to a private owner.

its commencement it relates how Adam received from God through the mediation of angels the method of calculating the months and years for the proper arrangement of the calendar of festivals. This passed by tradition through the patriarchs to the time of Phinehas the grandson of Aaron, in whose days it was committed to writing by his son Abisham, and according to this record, which is still in the hands of the Samaritan high-priest, is the sacred calendar still every six months compiled¹. Each period of seven years ends with a *shemittah* (year of release); seven of these form a *jubilee*: the first *shemittah* counts from the entry of Israel into Canaan. Three books are mentioned as having been given to the Fathers from the time of Adam to Moses, the book of 'Wars,' that of 'Astronomy,' and that of 'Signs'². Next are given the ages of the patriarchs from Adam to the death of Moses, and then a list of high-priests down to the present times: interwoven with this latter are a few scattered notices of important events, such as the Babylonian captivity, the return from it, the death of our Lord³, &c.; but as these have all

¹ See above, p. 75; Petermann, in Herzog, xiii. 376, note.

² See below, p. 132.

³ 'In the time of Jehonathan was put to death Jesus the son of Miriam, the son of Joseph the carpenter, Ben Hanahpheth, at cursed Salem (בָּן הַנְּהַפְת בָּאָרוֹר שָׁלָם), under the reign of Tiberius king of Rome, by Palitah his governor.' pp. 402, 438.

been inserted in the chronicle of Abulfath which will next be noticed, they need not be further here described. The chronicle is of interest to geographers as, while mentioning the various Samaritan families settled in Damascus, Palestine, and Egypt, it incidentally introduces the names of a considerable number of places inhabited by them¹.

The third chronicle to be noticed is that of Abulfath, composed by him at the request of the high-priest in A.D. 1355, and continued by other hands to later times². Its literary and historical merit is no greater than that of the two just described, considerable portions of which were copied into the present work by its author³. The same distortion of facts in the interest of national vanity, the same confusion between different periods, the same omission of important events,

¹ The importance of this chronicle for comparison with the 'Book of Jubilees' is shewn by Rönsch in his *Buch der Jubiläen* (1874), p. 361.

² Published from four MSS. by Ed. Vilmar, Gotha, 1865. It is written in Arabic containing many vulgar grammatical forms.

³ Besides these two, Abulfath also appears to have had at his disposal several other books, viz. one entitled the *قطع البلدي*, probably an account of the division of the land among the twelve tribes, other chronicles bound up in one volume with the book of Joshua, three more in Hebrew obtained from Damascus, a book termed the *كراس* or 'quires,' and a chronicle of Șadaqa; the last however he does not appear to have used.

the same unacknowledged borrowing from Jewish sources, is observable. It commences at the Creation, which is placed at 4350 B.C. ; from this point to the settlement of Israel in Canaan, which, together with the 250 ensuing years of peace under the rule of Joshua and his successors to Samson, makes altogether a period of 3050 years, was the *Ridvân* or time of the Divine Favour. Then the royal and pontifical dignities were both preserved, then the 'king' with the aid of his seventy elders and twelve princes of the tribes guided the state in accordance with the Divine will, the high-priest in company with the priests and Levites rightly performing the services of the Temple, while the rest of the people each in his proper station fulfilled the requirements of the Law. Then the Divine Presence manifested itself in the shrine on Garizim, whence the fire of the Lord came forth and each day consumed the sacrifices offered upon the two altars of the holy Mount. With Eli's schism commenced the period of *Fanûta*, or 'disappearance' of the Divine Favour and of its visible sign : Israel fell into idolatry : Saul, the schismatical monarch set up by the apostate prophet Samuel, persecuted the true people of God and prohibited their approach to Garizim ; many therefore fled their country to avoid his tyranny, and thus commenced 1000 years of migrations and exiles to the time of Alexander,

which is placed at 250 B.C. David proceeds to yet greater lengths, usurps the priestly offices of benediction and sacrifice, appoints Jerusalem as the Qiblah whither Israel should turn in prayer, and there establishes the schismatical ark of Shiloh, though formerly he too had offered on Garizim. Solomon's wisdom and glory are beyond denial: he is the 'Shiloh' after whose days the sceptre departed from Judah¹. Rehoboam was the last king who reigned with any show of right, having been elected at Shechem² in an assembly of the tribes. Jeroboam, corrupted by his residence in Egypt, introduced the worship of the calves at Sebaste³ and Dan: Elijah and Elisha are also deserving of the deepest reprobation for the part they took in seducing Israel from their true allegiance. Divine vengeance comes at last in the shape of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, who destroys Jerusalem and Sebaste: 'Aqbia the high-priest buries the sacred vessels in Garizim, and with his countrymen departs to exile in Harran and Edessa, carrying with him a copy of the Law; the Jews with their king 'Jumaqim' proceed to Babylon. Seventy years later, 3790 years after the Creation, Israel returns from captivity, but

¹ Gen. xlix. 10.

² 1 Kings xii. 1.

³ Not at Bethel (or Luz), for that is the higher summit of Garizim. See above, p. 67.

a second exile ensues 120 years later, which lasts for fifty-five years; the subsequent return from this, by permission of King Surdi, took place not long before that of the Jews from Babylon¹. Then ensues the famous contest between Zerubbabel and Sanballat as to whether Jerusalem or Garizim should be the Qiblah of Israel, ending in the defeat of the Jews and the re-establishment of sacrifice on Garizim. Kesra, the next king of Persia, suffers the Jews to return and build Jerusalem: his successors were Zaradushti, Ahash-varush, Artahast, Darius. This last king favours the Jews, and subjects Samaria to them, which accordingly is cruelly oppressed: a revolt ensues in which Jerusalem is destroyed, but the rising is quelled, the Samaritans severely punished, and the exercise of their religion interdicted: many thereupon fly to Kutha, and from this circumstance the name of Kuthim was maliciously fixed upon them by the Jews in order to rob them of their true designation of Israelites. Alexander died A.M. 4100, about 1000 years before the era of Mohammed. It is false that the Jews only translated their Pentateuch into Greek: King Ptolemy

¹ In No. xxvii. p. 290, *Codd. Or. Bibl. Acad. Reg. Scient. Lugd. Bat.*, is an excerpt from a historical work, relating how at this time 'Abdeel the high-priest gave his son in marriage to the daughter of Sanballat, telling Sanballat at the same time to instruct him in the Law.' Cf. De Jong's *Catal.* p. 62.

sent for Samaritan translators as well, and after hearing the arguments on both sides as to the merits of the respective copies of the Jewish and Samaritan Law, pronounced in favour of the latter and offered sacrifice on Garizim¹. In A.M. 4350 Christ was born, and crucified by the procurator of Tiberius: John the Baptist had before this suffered at Sebaste by the order of Herod. Vespasian's reign is passed over in silence: the events occurring in those of Hadrian and Commodus are apparently confused². In the days of Alexander (Severus) Baba Rabba restored the independence of Samaria and the study of the Law, though in many of his enactments he departed from the polity established under the Rîlyân. He ended his days in captivity at Constantinople, having been allured there by the promises of the Emperor Philip. Notices occur of the reign of Marcian, when the possession of the tombs of the patriarchs was decided by single combat between a Christian and Samaritan in favour of the latter, and of the persecution of Zeno, &c. to the time of Mohammed, whose flight is fixed at 700 A.D., and with this

¹ The legend of the three days' darkness which came over the world at the translation of the Law (Abulfath, *Annal.* p. 95) is to be found in the *Hi koth Gedoloth Ta'anith*, ed. Ven. f. 39 b: cf. Grätz, *Gesch.* iii. 430.

² The destruction of Samaritan books is attributed to Commodus, which in the book of Joshua, chap. xlvi, is ascribed to Hadrian. Vilmar's *Abulfath*, p. lxv.

the original chronicle of Abulfath appears to have terminated, though later events have been added by other hands, together with a list of high-priests down to the present time.

From the foregoing sketch it will be seen how little trustworthy a source of information is in this chronicle presented to us, in consequence of the large gaps and historical blunders occurring in it. For instance, the Assyrian invasion is ignored, not a single fact related which occurred between the reigns of Tiberius and Hadrian, nor for the hundred and more years which elapsed between Zeno and Mohammed; Zerubbabel and Ezra are made contemporaries, Hadrian builds a Christian church on Garizim; the Arab Philip rules at Constantinople, Gordian incites the Jews to rebuild Jerusalem. Amid this general confusion it would be unwise to accept anything as genuine which comes to us recommended only by Samaritan authority.

Hardly to be distinguished from the class of literature just described is one which may be classed under that of 'Agadah.' A specimen of this may be found in the 'Legends ascribed to Moses,' a commentary on which is preserved in the British Museum¹. It borrows largely from

¹ Add. MS. 19656, fol. 1-29. The title is مجموع شرح الاساطير. It has been translated by Dr. Leitner in Heidenheim,

Jewish sources. Adam and Eve, we are told, spent eight days in Paradise: the former instructs Lamech in the 'Book of Truth' for 180 years; after leaving Paradise he dwells in Safra, that is Nablus, and is afterwards buried at Hebron: Noah collects three writings called the 'Books of the Covenant,' viz., the 'Book of Adam,' or of 'Wonders,' that of 'Nagmuth,' or Astronomy, and the Book of 'Wars'¹. Enoch dies and is buried opposite Garizim in Navus on Mount Ebal, lamented by Adam. Jared finds Salem Rabtha or Nablus, in which God foretold that Melchizedek should hereafter reign: there also is Noah buried. Great honour is given to Abraham: he is cast by the tyrant Nimrod into the fire, but escapes unhurt, and Haran is killed by it: 6000 years are to intervene between the Creation and the 'day of vengeance.'

Of a similar type is the 'Jewelled necklace in praise of the Lord of the human race,' composed in (A.H. 944 =) A.D. 1537 by Isma'il Ibn Badr Ibn

iv. 184. Identical with, or similar to this, must be the chronicle on sixteen leaves written by Moses, extending from the creation to the end of the world, still preserved by the high-priest at Nablus. The Samaritans have also a similar one in Arabic by Jacob Besini, who lived before Mohammed. Petermann in Herzog, xiii. 376.

¹ See above, p. 125.

Abu-l-Izz Ibn Rumaih¹, in honour of Moses; it sets forth his divine nature, and extols the glories of his birth and miracles.

With this may be classed a 'tract' in which is contained a 'complete explanation of the chapters on Balak' by Ghazâl Ibn ad-Duwaik², with reflections on the same for the edification of the reader; and another small tract by the famous Abû Sa'îd explaining the cause of the fear felt by Jacob on his way to Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 1, 3) and by Abraham after the conquest of the five Kings (*ibid.* xv. 1)³, with a third by an unknown author,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 19021*. العقد المجوهر في مدح سيد البشر. (The same author also اسماعيل بن بدر بن ابو العز بن رمسيع wrote a book termed شرح الاثنين وسبعين توروت or 'an explanation of the 72 laws.' Geiger, in *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xxii. 531.) Another copy of this MS. is described by Neubauer in *Journal Asiatique* (1869), p. 467. This and the other MSS. there mentioned as belonging to Dr. Pusey now form part of the collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, which also contains, besides the works mentioned in the text, a Pentateuch containing Gen. i. 12 to Deut. xxix, and fragments to xxxi. 13, dated A.D. 1211; another with Arabic version in Samaritan characters (not that of Abusaid, as I understand from Dr. A. Löwy), dated A.D. 1328; another, apparently a copy of the last, containing most of Genesis and Exodus; nine liturgical volumes, written A.D. 1722-1794; some astronomical treatises, fragments of Pentateuchs, &c.

² غزال ابن الدويك by مقالة في ملخص شرح سور بلق *MS. xccii* *Bibl. Acad. Reg. Scient. Amst.* pp. 265-289.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 292, 293.

in which the fifteen occasions are quoted from Exodus and Numbers when the Israelites by their complaints and abuse of Moses and Aaron tempted God, and the times mentioned at which the divine glory appeared¹.

Of great importance for ascertaining the doctrinal views of the Samaritans, especially as shewing the tenacity with which they clung to ancient traditional interpretations, are their commentaries on the Pentateuch. Probably one of the oldest now extant is in the Bodleian Library: it was composed (A.H. 445 =) A.D. 1053 by an unknown Samaritan for the benefit of a certain Abû Sa'îd Levi, possibly the well-known translator²; certainly it was written before his translation of the Pentateuch was made, as this is never quoted in it. Like others of his countrymen who will be afterwards quoted, the author was well acquainted with the works of Arabian grammarians, but the trilateral system for the formation of verbs discovered by Hayug was unknown to him. He is singular in quoting not only from the Pentateuch, but also from the former and later prophets, Nehemiah, the Mishnah, &c., but strangely enough

¹ MS. xxvii. *Bibl. Acad. Reg. Scient. Amst.* pp. 294-296.

² *Opp. Add. MS. 4^o. 99.* At its commencement it has two short Samaritan liturgies. It has been described at length by Nenbauer in the *Journ. Asiat.* (1873), pp. 341 sq. It is written in Arabic, and dated (A.H. 749 =) A.D. 1348.

does not mention the Samaritan Targum. Like a genuine Samaritan he shuns anthropomorphisms, attributing to angels actions ascribed in the original to God Himself, but he is singularly peaceful, sometimes even agreeing with Rabbanite interpretations, but never taking occasion to attack them.

Another interesting and important one is that of 'Ibrahim from the family of Jacob,' now preserved at Berlin¹. He thoroughly represents the national feeling as exhibited in opposition to the Rabbanite school of thought among the Jews. For instance, he points out the error of the latter in interpreting the 'I am come down' of Exod. iii. 8, as of actual change of place on the part of God, rather than of the direction of His Omnipotence to a certain point: so he renders 'I will stretch out My hand' (ver. 20) as 'power,' imputing a literal interpretation of the expression to the Jews: the Lord 'repented' of the evil (xxxii. 14) must signify 'turned from,' 'wiped away.' This extreme anxiety to avoid anything approaching anthropomorphism has been often pointed out before. His desire to glorify Sichem and its surroundings may be seen by his remark on Gen. iii. 23, that Adam, on being driven out from Paradise, was sent back to Garizim, for from thence

¹ Large extracts are given from this by Geiger in the *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xvii. 723 sq., xx. 147 sq., xxii. 532 sq.

had he been taken. Jered (*ib.* v. 18) he tells us built Salem Rabtha, the city of Melchizedek, but Achidan built Zion, with regard to which the Jews have a tradition that 'the Law of Truth shall go forth from Zion and abrogate the Law of Moses,' but rather perish the Law of Ezra! Like a true Samaritan he places Abraham's sacrifice, Jacob's dream, &c., at Nablus. Very characteristic also is his anxiety to uphold the fame of Joseph against the charge of having married a daughter of Potiphar or Dinah, and to rescue the great prophet Moses from the imputation of having postponed the circumcision of his son; the means by which he effects this last point is a miracle of exegetic ingenuity. So all connected with Moses must likewise have no shadow of suspicion resting upon them: Jethro is no idolatrous priest, Zipporah is no 'Ethiopian' (*Numb.* xii. 1), but 'beautiful':—these instances are sufficient to give a just idea of the style of his commentary.

Of just the same type is an anonymous commentary on *Genesis* preserved in the Bodleian Library, brought from the East by the learned Bishop Huntington¹. The great reverence of the Samaritans for all belonging to the priesthood

¹ *Hunt. MS.* 301. The forty-ninth chapter was published by Schmurrer in Eichhorn's *Reptorium*, xvi. 154.

has been already noticed, they felt it therefore necessary at all hazards to explain away the severe judgment of Jacob upon his son Levi for his slaughter of the Shechemites in conjunction with Simeon. Consequently the words 'O my soul, come thou not into their secret' &c. (xlix. 6) are thus explained, 'they had no occasion to take counsel of me, for they knew that their counsel was right, seeing that their zeal was righteous.' So in the next verse, 'Cursed (אָרַר) be their anger' &c. is paraphrased, 'Most excellent (אָדִיר) is their anger,' or, 'exceeding is their generosity and fortitude:' 'I will divide them in Jacob,' he prays that their strenuousness may remain and be distributed in Jacob. On 'thy father's children shall bow down before thee' (ver. 8) he remarks, 'Some weak people interpret it, "they will bow towards thee because the Qiblah is in thy domain," but this is false, for the Qiblah is in the territory of Ephraim.' He paraphrases ver. 10 thus, 'knowledge of the Law and obedience towards God shall not fail, or a lawgiver from between his feet till Shiloh (Solomon) shall arise, who shall change the Law, and many shall follow him, since they love license and are prone to it.'

In this class must also be included an agadic commentary on the Pentateuch containing Genesis and Exodus, termed the 'dissipater of darkness from the secrets of revelation,' written in 1753-4

by Ghazâl Ibn Abu-s-Surûr as-Safawî al-Yûsufî al-Mûsawî al-Ghazzî¹; and another containing fragments of a commentary on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, often quoted by Castellus in his notes on the Samaritan Pentateuch². Other writers seem to have devoted their energies to the same subject, but nothing now remains to us but their names and the titles of their books. For instance, Mangâ Ibn ash-Shâ'ir is mentioned as the author of three commentaries on the Pentateuch³: Abû Sa'îd of scholia on the Decalogue⁴; Amîn ad-Dîn Abu-l-Barakât of a commentary on the same⁵: commentaries on the Pentateuch are said to have been composed by the celebrated poet, philosopher, and physician, Șadaqa Ben Mangâ Ben Șadaqa⁶, who, after living high in the favour of al-Malik al-Âdil the Ayyûbid prince ruling at Damascus, died near it in A.D. 1223; by Muhadhdhib ad-Dîn Yûsuf Ben Abû Sa'îd Ben Khalaf,

¹ *Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 19657*; title كاشف الغيامب عن اسرار اسرار, or, غزال بن أبوالسرور الصفوی اليوسفی الموسوی الغزی by المواهب غزال بن ابوالسرور ابن غزال ابن غزال ابن صفي الصفوی المطري.

² *Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 5495*.

³ *Amst. MS. xvii*, p. 309. منجا ابن الشاعر.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 315.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 314.

⁶ مدقه بن منجا (56), cf. Jynboll, *Comm.* p. 56. بختا ميخا. He wrote a commentary on the aphorisms of Hippocrates.

pupil of the famous Ȇbrahîm Shams al-Hukmâî, and vizier to al-Malik al-Amgad Magd ad-Dîn Bahrâm Shâh, sultan of Baalbek ; he died in 1227¹.

Under the head of miscellaneous theology must be classed a number of works many of which are closely connected with those just described. To this will belong a work of Abu-l-Hasan of Tyre, of which the title probably should be the 'book of cookery,' i.e. relating to lawful and forbidden meats, or 'of force².' In it the peculiar dogmas of the Samaritans as differing from those of the Jews are set forth and supported by arguments

¹ Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, p. 121; Juynboll, *Comment.* p. 56. Yûsuf's nephew Abu-l-Hasan Ben Ghazâl Ben Abû Sa'îd was noted for his acquirements in medicine, natural history, and astronomy, composing many books on these subjects. Embracing Islamism, he entered the service of his uncle's patron, and later into that of al-Malik aš-Šâlih Isma'il Ben al-Malik al-Âdil, sultan of Damascus, who made him his vizier. His library is said to have consisted of 10,000 volumes. Another celebrated Samaritan physician, Muwaffaq ad-Dîn (موقق الدين) (ابو يوسف يعقوب ابن ابي اسحق غنائم الدمشقي السامري) lived in the same century: he wrote a commentary on the canon of Avicenna (*Bodl. MS. Marsh. 464*), on logic and theology; cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.* p. 144; Haji Khalfa, v. 160, 472. For other notices of commentaries see below, p. 158.

² *Bodl. MS. Hunt. 24*; title كِتَابُ الطَّبَاخِ by ابْو لِّاْسْنِ (الصُّورِي); see notice of a similar MS. in *Journ. Asiat.* (1869), p. 468. He appears to have lived some time in the eleventh century; before Abû Sa'îd, who translated the Pentateuch about 1070 A.D. Cf. Juynboll in *Orientalia*, ii. 117.

drawn from the Pentateuch: it treats, e.g. of the dignity and perpetual succession of the highpriests; of animals which may be eaten; of the sabbath; that believers must have a Qiblah whither they may turn in prayer, i.e. Garizim: of the differences between Karaites and Rabbanites as to the fixing of the new moon; of angels; that there is no distinction of Persons in the Deity, nor conjunction of the human nature with the divine, &c. Closely resembling this is a work entitled 'a book sufficing to those who satisfy the knowledge of the book of God,' by Muhadhdhib ad-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Salāmah Ibn Yūsuf al-Askarī, commenced in A.D. 1041; it treats of the office of the priest, of purifications, of tithes, usury, &c., thus corresponding to the Mishneh Thorah of Maimonides¹.

Another work by the same Abu-l-Hasan has come down to us, containing long and somewhat uninteresting disquisitions in proof of a future life, with arguments drawn from the Pentateuch².

In the same class must be included an 'abridg-

¹ *Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 19656.* (2); title كتاب الكافي لمن كان مهذب الدين يوسف بن سلامه بن by بالمعرفة لكتاب الله موافي يوسف العسكري. The commentator Ibrahim mentioned above quotes him in proof of the reason why for a stolen ox fivefold, for a lamb fourfold should be restored. *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xx, 569.

² *Boll. MS. Hunt.* 350. (1); title كتاب المعاد.

ment of the Mosaic Law according to the Samaritans,' by Abu-l-Farag Ibn Ishāq Ibn Kathār¹, a work occupied in scholastic questions of the Kalām ; everything according to it is to be decided by means of logic applied to the Law. The author knows the 613 precepts, 248 of which, equalling the limbs in number, are positive in their character, while the 365 corresponding to the days of the solar year are prohibitory ; like the Rabbanites he distinguishes between local and temporary commands and such as are of universal application.

By one of the same family, in all probability, is the 'book of penitence,' a work in which are collected together such passages of the Pentateuch as relate to repentance and a reformation of morals, with observations thereupon by the author himself

¹ *Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ancien fonds, 5, Peiresc.* His name is كنار الدين ابو الفرج ابن اسحق ابن كنار (not نفيس الدين ابو الفرج ابن اسحق ابن كنار), see *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xxii. 532-538, where will be found a quotation from this or a similar work given by Ibrahim the commentator on the meanings of מוחה and נער, פסח and קבץ ; his view is also mentioned as to the increase of the Israelites in Egypt and with reference to Moses' staff. It is probable that he wrote a commentary also). The *كalam* ('word,' 'discourse,') was a dogmatic or scholastic philosophy which originated among Mohammedans in the second century of the Higra: so called either because it first was occupied with questions with regard to the divine 'word' addressed to the prophets, or because it is equivalent to *mauṭiq* or logic. Cf. Munk, *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, p. 311; *Guide des égarés*, i. 335, note 2.

and others of his countrymen¹. In the same MS. are other works of miscellaneous character: one treating of the nature of God and man and the worship due to the former by arguments drawn from the Pentateuch, its authorship is ascribed to the Ṣadaqa Ben Mangâ Ben Ṣadaqa mentioned above²: questions and answers, with interpretations of the Pentateuch³: and in the same work allusion is made to the 'special enactments of the holy Law' by Muwaffaq ad-Dîn al-Gahbadh⁴: the list may be closed by the mention of a treatise on the second exile by Ghazâl Ibn ad-Duwaik, followed by two homilies by Ṣâlih Ibn al-Marhûm Surûr Ibn Ṣadaqa and by Abû Saïd⁵.

The liturgical remains of the Samaritans are very extensive. They consist of prayers and hymns arranged in twelve parts for use on sabbaths and festivals throughout the year, and

ابو للحسن ابن by كتاب التوبة :
غنائم بن الحكيم النفيس ابن كشار

² He is here named موقق الدين صدقة: Ibn Abî Ḫâlî'a assigns two works to him, the *كتاب الاعتقاد*, or 'book of faith,' which may possibly be the present MS. (Amst. xxvii. p. 223), and a *مقالة في التوحيد وسمها بكتاب الكنز في الفوز*, or 'treatise on religion,' surnamed 'the treasure which concerns deliverance.'

³ *Ibid.* p. 297.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 310: موقق الدين للهيد : not the same as the Muwaffaq ad-Dîn mentioned above, p. 139: Juynboll, *Comment*, p. 60.

⁵ *Journ. Asiat.* (1869), p. 458: المقالة الشافية تبوت الدولة : الثانية تاليف الشيخ غزال بن الديوك

also for special occasions, such as circumcisions, marriages, and funerals. Several of the former have been published by Heidenheim from the rich stores of the British Museum: the following, occurring at the end of the 'Litany of Marqah,' may serve as a specimen. 'Lord, for the sake of the three perfect ones, of Joseph the interpreter of dreams, of Moses chief of the prophets, of the priests, the masters of the priests, of the Thorah, most sacred of books, of Mount Garizim, the everlasting hill, of the hosts of angels—destroy the enemy and foe, graciously receive our prayers, O Everlasting, grant us relief from these troubles, open to us the treasure of heaven¹.'

The hymns of the Samaritans, their sole poetical inheritance, are of little devotional or literary merit, nor does there seem good reason for ascribing any very great antiquity to them, however august and remote may be the parentage assigned to them. The earliest pieces, so we are informed, were sung by the angels on the occasion of the completion of the tabernacle and the death of Aaron, others

¹ Heidenheim, ii. 487. The British Museum possesses nineteen volumes of prayers and hymns, besides the fragments of liturgies from Damascus published by Gesenius in his 'Carmina Samaritana,' and edited again by Kirchheim in the 'Karme Shomeron:' three 'prayers of Moses and Joshua' and five 'prayers of the angels' (from the 'Defter') are printed in Petermann's *Grammatica Samaritana* (1873), p. 18 sq.

are ascribed to Marqah and Amram Dari who lived some time B.C., others again to Abisha in the thirteenth century. The present Samaritans have two collections, which they call *Durrân* ('string of pearls') and *Defter* ('book'), the latter comprising the former, the arrangement of which they ascribe to the above-mentioned Amram Dari¹. The language in which they are written varies; some are in almost classical Hebrew, others in a dialect resembling that of the Targum but with peculiarities, containing an admixture of Arabisms and Hebraisms: to some a translation in Arabic tinged with Hebrew, Aramaean, and Samaritan is appended. The metre also differs considerably; some stanzas are arranged in distichs, others in tristichs, others again in tetrastichs; some poems are alphabetical, in others the verses rhyme; the rhythm also varies, that in use among both Arabs and Syrians being employed. From the general style of their composition and the fact that many of the authors bear Arabic names it is most probable that they were mostly written at a time subsequent to the Mohammedan invasion, in some cases long after it².

¹ Petermann in *Herzog*, xiii. 376.

² For instance, the metre employed in Marqah's Paschal hymn (Heidenheim, iii. 96) does not seem to have been known before the ninth century A.D.: see Geiger in *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xxii. 534. Some of the titles of the pieces published by Heiden-

The Samaritans, following the example of the ancient Jews, calculate their year by the lunar months, and, in order to bring it into harmony with the solar year and the revolution of the seasons upon which their feasts depend, are accustomed each year to intercalate a thirteenth lunar month. The arrangement of this, and also the authoritative fixing of the exact moment at which the new moon may be considered to have appeared, upon which depended the festival at the beginning of each month, were among the Jews

heim may be of interest: e. g. (i. 279, 408) titles of the prayers to be used throughout the year: one festival with two supplementary hymns (i. 421): dream of the priest Abischa (ii. 80), who sees Moses on mount Garizim and is taken by him to visit heaven and Eden: the prayer of Ab Gelugah (ii. 213): pass-over hymns of Phineas and Eleazar (iii. 94): a passover hymn (iii. 474) containing an invocation of the Holy Spirit: a prayer of Marqah (iv. 237), and of Amram (*ibid.* 243): three prayers of Amram (iv. 390), one ending with the Mohammedan sentence 'there is only one God:' a prayer (*ibid.* 545) in which are described the order and ministry of the angels and the motions of the twelve planets, these being likened to the twelve tribes of Israel. There is a volume of prayers and hymns in the Paris *Bibl. Nat.*, numbered *ancien fonds*, 4, *Peiresc*, apparently of the fifteenth century, and a liturgical MS. numbered *Add. MS.* 334, in the *Univ. Library, Cambridge*, of which the title has been kindly communicated to me by Mr. Beusly the Sub-Librarian. It is שְׁיוּן הַחֲלָק. הַרְבִּיעִי. | אַמְנוֹת. יוֹמִי. הַשְׁבָּעוֹת. | מִן. מִימָה. It is dated A. H. 1185=A.D. 1771.

left in the hands of the high-priest for the time being, and formed, as we have seen before, a fruitful source of dispute between the rival factions of Pharisees and Sadducees¹. Till long after the captivity of Babylon it is probable that actual observation and not calculation of the appearance of the new moon was practised by the Jews². The Samaritans, as has been already remarked³, claim to possess astronomical tables drawn up by the great-grandson of Aaron himself, and every six months the high-priest draws up a calendar for the use of the congregation. Sealiger published two such, and De Sacy has also edited one with a translation⁴: several more MSS. of the kind have found their way to Europe, one written (A.H. 1164 =) A.D. 1750, another commencing with 574 of the Jezdegird era (= A.D. 1204), written (A.H. 1101 =) A.D. 1689; a third, which calculates also according to the Jezdegird era, dated (A.H. 1137 =) A.D. 1724⁵: St. Petersburg also possesses several specimens⁶.

In grammar and lexicography the Samaritans have nothing of much value to shew. Possessed of little learning themselves and living secluded

¹ See above, p. 38.

² De Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* xii. p. 34.

³ See above, p. 125.

⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 135, 153.

⁵ See *Journ. Asiat.* (1869), pp. 467, 468.

⁶ See below, *App.* i. 7.

from their neighbours, enclosed in their limited circle of ideas, they did not imitate the Jews in taking advantage of any opportunity of self-improvement which offered itself to them. The latter, as soon as ever the system of vowel points had been introduced among the Syrians and Arabs, eagerly took it up and for centuries patiently toiled at the work of improving and adapting it to Hebrew; then, dissatisfied with the results of their labour in the Assyrian punctuation, threw it over and took up the one now in use, the Palestinian, in its place. Whatever fault may be found with minute details of the system, still the warmest thanks of scholars are due to those who elaborated it with so much patience and skill for having thus rendered Hebrew grammar possible. The Samaritans attempted nothing of the kind, but trusted entirely to tradition for the pronunciation of their Hebrew Scriptures; it consequently must have deteriorated and become more uncertain from age to age under the influence of the living Aramaean and Arabic with which it had to cope. Thus matters went on till the tenth or eleventh century, when the literary activity of the Arabs communicated itself at last even to the sluggish spirit of the Samaritans, and they set about enquiring into and settling the laws of Hebrew grammar. But it was then too late: the fatal bar of a corrupt and uncertain

pronunciation met them at the outset and rendered all their efforts fruitless¹.

The truth of these remarks will be seen by an examination of three grammatical treatises of Samaritan authorship which have been published from a MS. at Amsterdam². The first of the three³ is an extract made by the high-priest Eleazar, the son of Phinehas the son of Joseph, probably about 1400 A.D., from the second, a grammar⁴ by Abû Ishaq Ibrahîm Ben Farag Ben Mârûth, surnamed Shams al-Ḥukamâï, whose name has already occurred above in connection with his celebrated pupil Muhadhdhib ad-Din; the third is a tract by Abû Saïd, probably the famous commentator of that name, intended to correct the faults of pronunciation prevalent in his time⁵. They are built entirely on the philological views of Arabic grammarians, some sections, such as those on transitive and intransitive verbs, being copied word for word from their works, but the writers have not proved themselves such apt scholars as their Jewish brethren. From their want of a system of punctuation, their varying orthography,

¹ Cf. Geiger in *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xvii. 718.

² By Nöldeke in *Götting. Nachrichten* (1862), pp. 337, 385.

³ المغنية في كتاب التوطئة: they are from the *Amst. MS.* xxvii. mentioned above, pp. 1-220.

⁴ كتاب التوطئة في نحو اللغة العبرانية.

⁵ قوانين المقرأ.

and the complete or partial disappearance from their language of sounds still written in Hebrew, they are especially uncertain in the parts of grammar concerned with these particulars; the arrangement also of the second of these tracts is very unskilful, needlessly full in some parts, defective in others¹. Old Samaritan blunders, which had before been pointed out by Jewish opponents, recur again in Abû Sa'îd, as for instance the mistaking of **וְ** local for a post-positive article; he also misunderstands the **וְ** of the Hiphil, taking it for a strengthening particle. Transcriptions of Hebrew words into Arabic, shewing the Samaritan pronunciation of the eleventh century, will be found in the anonymous commentary quoted above². The commentator Ibrahim, who has been quoted above, does not appear to have made any advance beyond the views held by his countrymen, as far as one may judge from the grammatical views expressed in his work³.

¹ E.g. on account of the irregularities of **וְ** a separate chapter is devoted to verbs **וְפָ**: in some cases the vowels are expressed by letters as **הַשְׁמִיר**, but generally by the three Arabic vowels which are naturally unsuited to express the niceties of punctuation: a distinction is sometimes made between great (ׁ andׂ) and little (ׁ) fatḥa, that between long and short vowels is generally overlooked, as also between full and half-vowels.

² See above, p. 134.

³ See the extracts by Geiger in *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xvii. 723-725.

So much for the grammatical acquirements of the Samaritans seven or eight centuries ago. Their present system of pronunciation has been made the subject of an elaborate enquiry by Professor Petermann, who has transcribed the whole book of Genesis after the manner in which it is now read in the synagogue of Nablus, together with a Hebrew grammar embodying the views of the present Samaritans on the subject¹. It is possible that in some points the system now in vogue among them may be an improvement upon that invented by the Masoreths², but at this period of time it is naturally more difficult (or rather impossible) to decide even than in the days of Abū Sa'īd how much of the system is due to genuine tradition and how much to Syrian and Arabian influence ; the enquiry is consequently not of much practical value³.

In the matter of lexicography there is little information to give. Of dictionaries proper none have as yet come to light: at Paris there is a concordance of forms occurring in the Scriptures with the corresponding Arabic and Samaritan word in parallel columns, and a similar one is

¹ Published in *Abhandl. für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes herausg. von d. D. M. G.* (1868), Bd. v. Th. 1.

² Cf. Nöldeke in *Götting. Nachrichten* (1868), p. 485 sq.

³ Cf. Derenbourg in *Cahen's Archives Israel.* xvi. 532.

preserved at Cambridge, in which however the Samaritan equivalent is omitted¹.

With this account of the literature of the Samaritans my task is concluded. In the notes accompanying the foregoing sketch reference has been made to all the important works I have met with bearing on the subjects discussed, but I have not thought it either necessary or desirable to swell the volume by the mention of such literature as has now been superseded by better works, which

¹ *Bibl. Nat., ancien fonds*, 6, *Peiresc*, it is dated A.D. 1476; the Bodleian MS., numbered *Bodl. Or.* 466, is a copy of it: the Cambridge MS. is in the library of Christ's College: it is dated (A.H. 1188=) A.D. 1774, its title is كتاب الترجمان and it was arranged by the priest Phinehas. It is an independent compilation, but nearly corresponds with the Paris MS.: e. g. in the former are found זנים פשידין, זנים פסיד זנים זאנין; זונה פסיד זנים פלאין, זונה זאנינה. See also below, *App. I. v.*

There is a very vague notice of the MSS. still preserved at Nablus given by Löwe in the *Allg. Zeit. d. Julenthums*, 1839, No. 47 (see above, p. 41). In Mills' *Nablus*, p. 317, is to be found a rough list drawn up by the priest Amram. He there mentions, in addition to the works described in the text, (1) commentaries (شرح) on the Law, in Hebrew with Arabic translations, by Marqah (termed 'El-Amir,' ? الامير), Ibrahim el Kaisi, Ghazâl ibn ad-Duwaik, Musalem el Murjam (المرجم), Ghazâl al Maṭrî, El Hhabr (الحبر) Ya'qûb; (2) various 'orders' (ترتيب) of prayers in Hebrew for the various festivals; (3) miscellaneous works, including one on marriage (الحلل في النكاح), and another on inheritance (كتاب الميراث) by Abu-l-Barâkât; an explanation of the feasts entitled رسالة اخبار اسرائيل by the

were moreover written at a time when fuller information was obtainable than by preceding authors; references however to the earlier literature will be discovered by any one interested in the subject by turning to the books quoted by me¹. In the two appendices that follow will be found, i. an interesting description of the Firkowitsch Collection of Samaritan MSS., recently added to the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, with which I have been kindly supplied by Dr. Harkavy; and ii. a translation of the Massekheth Kuthim, an important Talmudical tract written probably in the second century A.D.

priest Eleazar, and a book of 'direction' for the same, called *رسالة الارشاد*, by Ibrahim el Ahi; an anonymous history of the Samaritans (*تاریخ*); and, lastly, a treatise on the astronomical work *الحساب*, *hhisab*, which is described above (p. 125) as attributed to Adam.

¹ See also the list in Zenker, *Bibl. Orient.* (1861), ii. 149, 150.

APPENDIX I.

The Collection of Samaritan MSS. at St. Petersburg.

In the year 1870 the Russian Minister of Public Worship purchased from the well-known Karaite traveller and archaeologist Abraham Firkowitsch his collection of Samaritan MSS. for the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. It consists almost exclusively of fragments, this circumstance arising from the fact that the collector during his stay in Nablus and Egypt completely ransacked the Samaritan Genizoth¹ (that is to say, the garrets and cellars of the synagogues whither their worn-out books were conveyed), thus acquiring several fragments of Samaritan Pentateuch rolls—none of which have before this, to

¹ The word *גניזה* in Hebrew is equivalent to the Samaritan מטורה, as seems to be proved by an epigraph quoted by Rosen (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* 1864, p. 588); as however he has misunderstood it, I give it here with a new translation: הדת התורה הקדושה שנת חמש מאות ושכונה וחמשים שנה למלוכות בני ישמעאל הייתה לנו מטורה לנו ארון ומטורה אוקדת איש ואחתפצת מן אש וסלכת אל, אלון מטורה מן אש על ימי רבנה בבא הכהן, הנדול ונסיא אברהם. (אלאן accordingly must not, with Rosen, be translated ‘oak,’ but be taken for חלאן, a various reading for the same word in Gen. viii. 6): this happened in the days of our lord Baba the high-priest and prince of Abraham.'

the writer's knowledge, ever reached Europe—about 6000 parchment and paper leaves from various Pentateuch MSS. written in the shape of books, several fragments of commentaries on the Bible, liturgical, grammatical, and lexicographical works, and lastly a number of marriage-contracts. The writer of the present notice received directions from the Minister to make a complete catalogue of the collection, and the first portion of it is already in print; the MSS. shall now be briefly described in general terms.

A collection such as the present could on account of its fragmentary character hardly have claimed any particular attention on the part of the learned world had it contained another and better known literature. It is different however when the literary remains of a people are concerned whose existence, though an unimportant one, extends over a historical past comprising thousands of years, and who now are threatened with extinction; a people moreover whose inner life and intellectual activity, though they were early developed, have hitherto remained almost unknown. Every fragment accordingly, however slight it may be, which belongs to the literature of such a people has a value of its own, as being capable of giving information on many points which interest the learned world, especially too at a time when so great activity is being displayed in the field of Semitic studies, and an attempt made to follow the example of Aryan scholars by enquiring more closely into separate peoples and stems, and thus gradually to gain an idea of the whole Semitic race.

In describing the collection, the existing divisions have been preserved; the first accordingly will consist of—

i. Fragments belonging to twenty-seven parchment Pentateuch rolls. None of this kind, as has been already

remarked, have hitherto been discovered in any European library, all the existing ones being in the shape of books; the reason of this appears to be that the Samaritans hold such rolls as especially sacred from their being intended for use in the synagogues, and so will part with them for no sum, however large, to those of another faith. Accordingly in 1811 the high-priest Salameh ben Tobiah made answer as follows to the request received in a letter from the well-known senator Abbé Grégoire, that he would sell him two Pentateuchs; 'As to your request that we would send you the holy book of the Law, we could only do so if ye were Samaritans like us, and had like us observed the ordinances prescribed to you¹.' As however the Samaritans had already frequently sold MSS. of the Pentateuch (for instance, to Pietro della Valle and Huntington in the seventeenth century), this 'non possumus' of the high-priest must refer to rolls used in the synagogue.

Be this as it may, these fragments have been till now the only ones known in Europe, and so they are of considerable importance for explaining to us how the Samaritans write their sacred Law for use in Divine worship. Unfortunately, as might have been guessed from the place where they were found, they are for the most part in very bad condition; and as Samaritan palaeography is not yet in a condition to decide with certainty upon the age of an undated MS., it is only such as contain dated epigraphs whose age can be without doubt ascertained. Only six of the fragments contain such notices, and only three of this number have their dates perfect; one (no. 4) was written (A.H. 599=) 1202-3, another (no. 10) in (A.H. 605=)

¹ De Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* xii. 25, 105, 121. So Robinson, *Palestine* (1867), iii. 130.

1208-9, the third (no. 15) in (A.H. 808=) 1405: it is however quite certain that several other fragments in the collection belong to a much earlier age.

It is interesting to notice the way in which the Samaritans insert these epigraphs in their Pentateuchs. For this purpose the column of text in the roll or page of the book is divided down the middle by two perpendicular lines, the interval between the lines being left vacant, except for the insertion of such letters from the text as serve the writer to compose the epigraph. For instance, the first word in general will be יְהָיָה, or יְהָיָה, signifying 'I:' the writer will wait till an י presents itself in or near the middle of a line of text, he sets this in the space intervening between the two lines and goes on with his writing till he reaches a י in the middle of a line, this he sets in the same space, doing the like with ו or ו, and so on to the end of the epigraph, which is thus made to extend over several columns or pages without a single letter being added to the text of the Pentateueh, which thus itself, so to speak, supplies the materials for a memorial both of the writer and of the person who ordered the MS. to be written.

* * * * *

Among the fragments of about 300 Pentateuch MSS. written on parchment or paper are to be found the oldest Samaritan MSS. known in Europe, viz. of A.H. 571 and 577, corresponding to 1176-7 and 1181-2; the dated ones however are not by any means the oldest, and it may without exaggeration be asserted, if one may judge from the writing and appearance of the MSS., that some go back to the eleventh or tenth century, if not even further. The collection offers the richest spoil for Samaritan palaeography which is to be met with, not in Europe only, but throughout the world, Firkowitseh having completely

stripped the only archives belonging to the people, the above-mentioned Genizoth¹.

ii. The collection contains also many fragments of the Samaritan-Arabie translation, as well as of the Samaritan

¹ The only palaeographical note known to me in Samaritan literature is an epigraph at the end of a Bodleian MS. (*Hunt. 24*), which reads thus, هذه حروف العبراني بالخط المجلس القديم, اثنى وعشرين حرف א'ב'ג' : then follows the usual alphabet, called by Gesenius (*Mön. Phoen.* tab. 3) 'letters of the MSS.'; by Juynboll (*Book of Joshua*) 'larger letters.' خط المجلس must be taken in the sense of 'official,' or 'settled,' 'abiding,' so 'square' writing. وهذه ايضا حروف العبراني بالخط الطرش اثنى وعشرين حرف א'ב'ג' : (here follow the characters called by Gesenius the 'Gotha' letters, by Juynboll 'ordinary.' خط الطرش I take in the sense of טריש as used in the *Bab. Baba Kama*, f. 98, and explained in the *Aruch*, 'erased,' 'unclear' writing: according to Arabic lexicons طريس signifies to renovate faint writing). There is also an allusion to Samaritan writing in an epigraph inserted at the beginning of Deuteronomy in the Bodl. MS. *Pococke*, 5:anca אב עוי בן אב קויתי בר טביה בן רמה כתבת: הדה ארחותה קדרותה לארכונה ויקירה וכתובה וריטורה ומישניה אב עוי בר מישניה עבר יהוה בר אב רוממה ברשומה טעימה וככלתי אתה בירח החנה שנות א. וב. ז. ק. ל'יטמעל והוא מלוי ג. אדרון כתבת אורה את יהוה על בן ואשוללה מלינה מלאפה לבנים ובני בנים אמן אמן. The words ברשומה טעימה may mean 'tasteful,' 'beautiful' writing, or may signify a particular style. I have fully explained the expression והיא מלוי ג. אדרון and the like in my catalogue, pp. 49, 50. I forgot to mention in the text that our Pentateuch fragments are also of great value for the Samaritan text, as, quite by chance and without searching for them, I have discovered a great number of variations from the Samaritan text of the Polyglots which are also unmarked by Kennicott. Many of these I mention in my catalogue, the rest I keep for a special work.

Targum, with the restoration of which the learned are now so much occupied; for instance, Petermann and Geiger in Berlin, Kohn in Pesth, Brüll in Frankfurt-am-Main, &c.¹

iii. Another division contains smaller or greater portions of several commentaries on the Pentateuch. These are

¹ I add in this place a collation of some passages in the Targum edited by Mr. Nutt with a fragment to which I have not yet given a number, and which I accordingly designate by the provisional number put on it by Firkowitsch, ii. 29.

Nutt.	F. ii. 29.
Num. xxviii. 9. למנחה בפסיס	: מנחה בפסה
ונסכיו	: ונסוכה
10. שובה בשובה	: [שב]תה בשבתה
ונסכיהון	: ונסכיהון
11. ובראייש	: וברשי
אמהרין	: אמירין
12. (twice) בפסיס	: בפסה
לפר חד	: לפרא אחדה
לדנר חד	: לדכrah אחדה
13. בפסיס	: בפסה
לאמהר חד	: לדכrah אחדה
14. ונסכיהון	: ונסכיהון
איינה	: הינה
לפר חד	: לפרא אחדה
15. הינה לדכrah ורביעות	: איינה לדכrah ורביעות
איינה לאמהר חד	: איינה לאמהר חד
בחדרותה	: בחדרותה
עמ.	: על
ונסכיהון	: ונסכיהון
16. בארבעה עשר	: בארבעה עשר
17. הן.	: הן
Here is a lacuna.	
24. רחוות	: רעה

of the greatest importance for a knowledge of the religious and moral views of the Samaritans, their relations with those of another creed, and their theory of the universe; these also possess especial value in the general dearth of their literature as frequently citing fragments of ancient theological, philosophical, poetical, and other works¹.

Num. xxviii. 24.	ונסכיהן	:	ונסכיהן
25.	פלען	:	פלחן
26.	פלען	:	פלחן
27.	רחוּה	:	רעוּה
	אמְתָרִין	:	אמְרִין
28.	לְפֶרֶת חֶרֶד	:	לְפֶרֶת אֲחֶדֶת
	לְדִבְרֵת חֶרֶד	:	לְדִבְרֵת אֲחֶדֶת
29.	לְאַמְתָרֶת חֶרֶד	:	לְאַמְתָרֶת אֲחֶדֶת
	אמְתָרִיה	:	אמְרִיה
	ונסכיהן 31.	:	ונסכיהן
xxix. 1.	פלען	:	פלחן
xxxi. 51.	עֲבָד	:	רְעָבָד
52.	דָּקָל	:	[?] מְתַקְלָן
54.	וְאֵיתָו	:	וְאַעֲלָו
xxxii. 1.	וְקִנְיָן סְנִי	:	וְקִנְיָן סְנוּנִי
	קִנְיָן	:	קִנְיָן
2.	וְלְנִסְיָי	:	וְלְנִסְיָי
3.	וּבָעֵן	:	וּבָעֵן
4.	קִנְיָן	:	קִנְיָן
5.	אִישׁ (תְּקָעָנָה)	:	אִשְׁתְּכַחַנָּה
	תְּעַבְּרָנָנוּ	:	תְּעַבְּרָנָנוּ
6.	הָא אֲחִיכָּן יַעֲלֵוּן	:	הָא אֲחִיכָּן יַעֲלֵוּן
7.	דְּמִעְבָּר	:	דְּמִעְבָּר
8.	אֲ[כָוֹן]	:	כְּדִין
9.	תְּבָאָלָה	:	אֲכָלָה

fol. 2.

¹ Especially interesting are the quotations from earlier writings or poetical productions in the Aramaic dialect. I

iv. To the same class belong fragments of Samaritan law-books; these are very rarely to be found in Europe¹.

quote some passages from MS. F. iii. 2, a fragment of a Midrash-like commentary on the Pentateuch:

ويؤيد ذلك القول المنسوب الى مارقا او ولده ننه رضي الله (1) عنهما اذ يقول **بَيْنَ مِشْكَعَيْنَ** تھو وبھو بريھ دمیم والھیم امنھا وھلۇن منھا برىان ملۇھو میشلھ لەن می تھو وبھو وانن میعورن. Marqa and his son Nana were, as is well known, the earliest writers of hymns among the Samaritans. The first word **بَيْنَ** is doubtful, can it be for **بَنَانَ**? The remainder is plain enough.

ما يدل على ذلك قوله (يعني قوله مارقا) **هَوَ تَلْمِيْهَ نَفْكَهَ** (2) **مِنْعُونَ كَرِيْشَةَ مَفْتَهَ دَمْلَبَهَ** **حَيَّهَ وَكَعِيمَهَ** **وَنَحَّتَهَ لَنَوْ** **حَلَّلَهَ عَلَّاَهَ** **وَنَحَّتَهَ لَنَوْ** **تَلْمِيْهَ دَمْيَهَ** **وَبَرْعَهَ** **رَكِيْعَهَ وَعَلَّهَ لَنَوْ** **أَشَّتَهَ وَنَفْكَهَ مَنْوَهَ**. A person might say he had a bit of the Sohar before him. The phrase **تلمية** is important for the interpretation of **בְּחִילְמָו** in the Samaritan Targum (Gen. xli. 2), as it shews that the latter word is no mere copy of the Hebrew **בְּאָחָז** as many people supposed. Moreover Petermann in his edition has not the word in question.

ومما يؤيد ذلك ما ينسوب [sic] الى مارقا او غيره من السلف (3) الشريف رضوان الله عليهم في قوله **أَنَّهُنَّ نَحْبَهُ رَبَّهُ** اذ يقول رضي الله عنه **شَمَوَهَ دَالَّهُوَهَهَ** **نَتَبَقَّتَ عَلَى رَيْسَتَهُ** **شَمَ مَيْشَهَ** **نَتَبَقَّتَ بَعْنَبَهَ**. I have also collected fragments of philosophical works written in the Samaritan dialect, the publication of which I reserve for myself.

¹ Among the law-books are some fragments written in Arabie, but in Samaritan characters, e. g. F. iv. 18; here is a specimen:

♦ **בְּאָבָּא אַלְחַתְּהִיר וְאַלְנוֹזָו וְמוֹא יְתַעַּלְקָ בְּהַמְּוֹא♦**
אַלְתְּהִירָה **מְעַנְּהָהָא** **אַוְالָה** **אַלְנוֹגָס** **וְהַיְעַנְּדָנָא** **בְּקַסְמִין** **בְּאַלְמְוֹא** **וְאַלְנָאָר**
מְנַהָּא **מָא** **יְחַתְּזָן** **בְּאַחֲדַהְמָא** **فַتַּقְוּל** **אָן** **אַלְמִיאָה** **אַלְתִּי** **יְנַו** **אַלְחַתְּהִיר**
בְּהָא **סְתָה** **מוֹא** **אַלְסְמָא** **וְמוֹא** **אַלְבָחָר** **וְמוֹא** **אַלְחָלָג** **וְמוֹא**
אַלְבִּיר **וְמוֹא** **אַלְעָזָן** **וְאַלְמִיאָה** **עַלְיָא** **אַרְבָּעָה** **אַקְסָאָם** **טָהָר** **וּמְטוֹהָר** **שָׁוֵר**

v. The fifth division contains fragments of grammatical works and of Hebrew-Arabic dictionaries, or Tardescheman's (Interpreters), as they are termed by Samaritans and Arabs. These last are of so much greater importance, because in the only example of such a dictionary hitherto known to exist¹, that preserved in Paris², three letters at the commencement (נ, ב, and half ג) are missing, and now fortunately may be supplied from the present fragments³.

* * * * *

מכורה והוא אלמא אלטולק וטאהר מטהר והוא אלמוראר [?] אלסיר אלמייטם וטאהר עיר מטהר והוא אלמא אלמסתעמל ואלמתהער במא חאלטה מן אלאייה אלטהירה ומא נס והוא אלדי חלה פיה ננאה והוא אלדי יטעם עלי אלננאסה בקהלת פשתג'יר ואקסאם אלטהירה חלהה רחיצה וככינה וטבילה פמו אלטמאואת מוא יומם תטהירה באלהלהה ומנהא מוא יומם באנתאנן ומנהא מוא יומם בואחרה פקט: פאלדי יומם בואחרה מטל קרי לילה ושבבת רע רחיצה ואלדי באנתאנן מטל טמא מות &c.

¹ [But see above, p. 151. J. W. N.]

² [See above, p. 151. J. W. N.]

³ These dictionaries are termed in Samaritan **ملין**, in Arabic **ترجمان**: there are six fragments in the collection; viz.

- (1) F. v. 7; 21 leaves, from **כלי** to **אביך**.
- (2) F. v. 7; 2 leaves, from **ארבו** to **אלחים**.
- (3) F. v. 8; 46 leaves, from **עשב** to **אב**.
- (4) F. v. 9; 33 leaves, from **רישת** to **אביישע**.
- (5) F. v. 10; 1 leaf, from **אדני** to **אביך**.
- (6) F. v. 10; 2 leaves, from **עליה** to **נפטר**.

The only copy which has the beginning perfect has the following inscription on the title-page: **بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم** هدا [sic] كتاب **ملين** من تاليف سيدنا هكهن هرب **فينحمس** رضوه يهوه عليو امن بعمل مشه هنامن امن ودلك تعريب للدي [?] الي جميع الناس [?] طالب والله هو الموفق لجميع ما فيه صواب وحسبي الله ونعم الوكيل ولا حول ولا قوه الا بالله العلي العظيم م

vi. In this class are works containing historical matter, not only the already edited Book of Joshua and Annals of Abulfath, but such as have never yet appeared; for instance, fabulous tales of the birth and death of Moses¹.

vii. To this division belong several astronomical works, some entire, some imperfect. These are unique of their kind, for as far as the present writer knows, no public library in Europe has any such to shew²; from them alone however can we discover how the Samaritans reckon their time, arrange their feast-days, &c. Two eras are employed by them, one dating from the entry of the Israelites into Canaan, and the other from the Persian king Jezdegird: two more are also used, most frequently the Mohammedan, and, much less often in epigraphs, the Creation of the World; as for instance in the epigraph of the Pentateuch numbered *Abb. MS. 22369* in the British

At the end of كه is the following epigraph:

كان التمام من نسخ نصف ذلك الترجمان العبراني في عصرت
نهار الأربعه المباركه شهر صفر لغير سنت (so) تمانيه وخمسون
ومائة والف على بد افقر العباد الفقير لحقير المسكين الراجي
غفران لخطيا والذنوب الولد سوق غزال ابن المرحوم اسحاق ابن
المرحوم ابراهيم ابن اسحق ابن صدقه ابن غزال هكمهن هلوى
بشكم غفر الله تعالى له ولوالديه ثم ملن عامده واحن عليه ثم
لجميع قهيل يشراط هسجوديم لهرجريزيم بيت ال امن امن
From the first epigraph we see that the author of the Meliz was called Phinches, but this gives us no information as to the date of its composition, as there have been very many Samaritan high-priests of this name. I reserve to myself the supplying of full information with regard to these fragments and the Paris MS.

¹ [See above, p. 132. J. W. N.]

² [For similar works, see above, p. 146. J. W. N.]

Museum. Calendars also for a single year, giving the portions which are to be read each Sabbath from the books of Moses, are to be found in the collection¹.

viii. This part consists of very varied fragments which have not yet been carefully examined, but it may be mentioned that it contains a good deal relating to medi-

¹ [See above, p. 75. J. W. N.] The epigraph in *Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 22369* is written in after the manner described above in p. 156. As this is almost the only instance, as far as I know, in which the three eras are put together, I give the passage. It commences at Deut. xv, and runs thus: אני אברהם בר אבי נצען בר אבי אסעד בן אבי חסדה בן אבי עליון הנורי הכהוב כתבי את התורה הקוריטה לנפשי והוא שני תורה כתב והכללת שנת אחר ושים וטבע מאות שנים למלוכות ישמעאל היא שנת שלתש אלף וחמשה וטשלשים שנה לזאת בני ישראל ממצרים היא שנת ה: אלף ושבע מאות שנים ושמנים שנה לבריאת עולם אורי את יהוה. שני העקר למושב the astronomical tables the eras mentioned are called in the epigraph (as at the beginning of Neubauer's chronicle): single technical expressions are ; מנדלים ; שנות ; שנים ; דקotas ; דקים ; שבירות ; רגניות ; דרכים ; שובכים ; שניות ; הלכת (or מקום המצדך, מקום הצדק, מקום צדיקות ; בנות הלכות סגולות ; סגולות תורה בקבוצות והנטעות (וונתנותה (or והחרשים ; הלוות ראש התניון בקבוצות והנטעות והחרשים ; תורה בימיים והישעות יומון ; תורה לשימוש כל תורה ובן אחד ; הלכת ראש התניון בימיים והישעות שורה ותשבנה דישפיטה מן ; ומקורה מרחוקה ד: חלקים מן ס: חלק שורה ותשבנה ; חריש תשבי וככל תשע עשר שנה מועור מישרי מן ריש מהכם ; תורה בן טיבת וככל תשע עשר שנה מועור מישרי בן ריש דקי גלגל תנינה צפי כמה דקי גלגל תורה ומה אנן ואקشن לנו תרין ומר אצטמר הוא דקי גלגל תנינה ישתחב באירוע דבן ; ופלג ועסור ברא בתקון חכמתו רמה. The names of the twelve signs of the zodiac are ; עקרב ; מיזן ; שבלה ; אריה ; סרטן ; נזא ; שור ; כשב ; גדי ; קשת ; דלו ; תנין ; partly, it will be observed, Hebrew, and partly Arabic.

eine, though it is doubtful whether all belongs to Samaritan authors. Some fragments of historical works have also found their way by mistake into this division.

ix. In this are contained, according to a rough list made of them, fragments of 276 MSS. of a liturgical character, written on 6300 leaves, partly composed in Arabic also. The knowledge of Aramaic idioms in general, and of the Samaritan dialect in particular, gained from the small collection of hymns published by Gesenius and Heidenheim, makes one long to see the whole cycle of Samaritan hymns and prayers in print, at all events such as are composed in Aramaean; then only, when this is done, will it be possible to bring out a Samaritan dictionary worthy of the name. The said cycle consists of at least twelve quarto volumes, of which the twelfth is contained in *Add. MS. 19019* belonging to the British Museum; should the various parts which are now dispersed among all the libraries of Europe—Rome, Paris, London, Oxford, Berlin, Gotha—ever be united, still it will never be possible from them to make up (aufstreiben) a perfect copy. By means however of the vast number of fragments belonging to the St. Petersburg collection one may hope to fill up these lacunae, and so make an edition of the whole cycle possible; though this cannot be decided with certainty till these fragments have been more carefully examined and collated with those of other European libraries¹.

¹ A very imperfect idea will be gained of the liturgical hymnology of the Samaritans from a study only of the specimens published by Gesenius, Heidenheim, and quite lately by Petermann. Some that have never been edited are far from heavy, and not without a certain poetical vigour. The following is from *Cod. Firkowitsch*, iii. 3:

x. The last section contains twenty-two documents in Arabic relating to civil matters, and ranging from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, about seventy contracts of marriage, and six amulets. As regards the contracts, none had hitherto been discovered older than the seventeenth century, and Firkowitsch in a memorandum

אה מושיע | לֵי הושיע | במשה | כון עוני | הקשה | ורחם נפשי | אה
עשה | וושמעני | בששי | במקדשך | מקדשי | באראשי | אהרן | המשיח

These are a few lines from the eighth part of the Samaritan liturgy (*Berlin, Coll. Petermann*, No. 7):

על שרי כל ממיל נורי : לצערן דיתורי
בחסרו לו יפרוי : את חלקת השדה
אתיקצו ואפחחו עינה : ושמעו מימר מוסכינה
ובכוב ברכמות העינה : על חלקת השדה
חלקת השדה תימר בפמה : מובהחי הטהור הטמא
וישרא כי הטמא : ואין יש לאלידי
חלקת השדה תימר أنها : יעקב זכהה לי בנה
לקח יתי זידנה : ואין יש לאלידי
חלקת השדה תימר : אני היום בחסר
הרישעים בני הנר : ואין יש לאלידי
חלקת השדה תימר במלו : הרישעים מני בטלו
התישבחן והצלו : ואין יש לאלידי
חלקת השדה תימר ולא תנסי : הוזן יקרה על ראש
ואתרכק מני שם מיש : ואין יש לאלידי
חלקת השדה תימר על נפשה : נдол עוני מנשא
אתרכיק מני התורה הקדושה : ואין יש לאלידי
חלקת השדה תשא הקול : מובהחי היום בטל
לית בו כהן נдол : ואין יש לאלידי
חלקת השדה תכבי : ותימר א נבי
כל כון יראני יכבי : ואין יש לאלידי

I hope very soon to publish a good deal of similar matter in a separate work.

attached to the collection asserted that the Samaritans had none till this time, when they learnt from a Karaite traveller how to compose them. This is however a mistake, as the present writer not long ago published one dated (A.H. 916=) 1510-11, which was found by him among the fragments of a Pentateuch belonging to the collection¹. Before this nothing had been brought out but two badly copied specimens by Wilson². The whole number should however be edited, first because each begins with a solemn hymn specially composed for the occasion, which accordingly offers a new Samaritan text; and secondly, because the names of persons and families are of special interest, and present rich materials for a Semitic Onomasticon³.

¹ In *Hameliz*, 1873, no. 8, pp. 62, 63.

² *The Lands of the Bible* (1847), ii. 689-695.

³ I here communicate some personal names from contracts of marriage. The appended numbers betoken the years (A.H.) when the documents were written. Of women's names the following are of interest: (1068, 1103, 1134, 1181) אלצורה (1209, probably identical with the foregoing), אצבהאן (1132), הרבה (1148, 1158, 1191, 1202, 1216), הורה (the *חכבה* (? with the article, 1181), כתריה (1134) כספה (1142), חנונה (1170), מוסרה (1177), מוהבה (1118, 1148, 1218), כחובה (1149), צדקה (1161, 1164, 1175, 1194), ציון (1220, 1268), ציונה (1198, probably the same as the foregoing), רבתה השפיר (1118), צפה (1158), ('very beautiful,' 1118), שארה (1101, 1154), רבתון (1203, 1234), שרה (1165, both probably identical with the foregoing), שלחה (1211), שלוחה (1244), שלמה (1124, 1143, 1146, &c.), שלמה (1146, 1209), חנינה (1191), שמות (1223), חנינה (1244), חנינה (1149, 1168), חנינה (1211, probably the same).

Of men's names I will mention—זהרה (1149, 1168, also a

The collection contains also the following objects: (1) a case for a Pentateuch-roll made of brass plates and adorned with a variety of figures, Samaritan and Arabic proverbs; (2) the capital of a column found on Garizim, taken possibly from the old Samaritan temple there; (3) the stone tablet from the Samaritan synagogue at Nablus, on which are inscribed several verses of the Pentateuch for liturgical purposes, as described by Dr. Rosen and Prof. Rödiger¹.

DR. A. HARKAVY.

woman's name), **עבד יהוה** (1180), **יממעאל הינטוּף** (1103, 1116), **עבד الله** (1191, &c., probably in imitation of the Arabic **عبد חנון**), **הממונה** (1101, 1209, probably the same as **עבד הממן**) **עבד העשיר** (1191, 1248), **עבד הפתחה** (1168, 1244), **צדקה** (1142, 1195, &c.), **שלח** (1209, 1211, &c., also a woman's name). **שׁרָה** (1273).

The family names most frequently occurring are (also **דָּנְפָתָה** (also written **מְנִשָּׁה** or **חָרְמָתָה** or **דָּנוֹפָתָה** (not the patriarch), **צָפָרָה**, **מְרַחְיבָּם**, **מְטָר**: once occur **צָפָרָה** (1158), **רְחִמָּה** (1118), **רְמָן בְּהִנֵּי הַאֲבָן** (1244), &c. The expression **רְמָן בְּהִנֵּי הַאֲבָן** is twice (1068, 1084) used; can it mean 'priests of the altar?' Compare also the family names mentioned in Neubauer's chronicle. There is a specimen of a letter of divorce to be found in *Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 19956*, f. 96.

[In the Cambridge dictionary described above, p. 151, is a marriage contract, dated A.H. 1188, between **سرور ابن غزال ابن يوسف** dwelling at Joppa, and the daughter of **سرور المطري** **يعقوب ابن سرور المطري** of Nablus.

In a later account Dr. Harkavy draws attention to some more peculiarities of Samaritan Pentateuchs. In Exodus ii, where the birth of Moses is related, the following epigraph is inserted: **טוֹבֵינוּ עַלְמֵיהֶם וּמֵה אֲתִילֵד לְנַבְתָּה** 'Hail to the *'Almah* (Jungfrau) and to her offspring!' Exodus xiv or xv generally has the title **יהָוָה נָצְעִי קָרְבָּה** 'The Lord is Victor in fights.' J. W. N.]

¹ *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* xiv. 622-634.

APPENDIX II.

*The Massekheth Kuthim, or Tract on the Samaritans*¹.

i. As to the usages of the Kuthim, in some they resemble heathens, in some Israelites, but in most of them Israelites. We do not accept from man or woman among them who has been afflicted with an issue or from their women after childbirth offerings of doves or pigeons², nor sin-offering, nor trespass-offering, but we receive from them vows and free-will offerings: we do not suffer them to acquire immovable property³, nor do we sell them sheep for shearing⁴, nor crops to cut, nor timber still standing⁵, but we let them have cattle for killing. We do not sell them large cattle though wounded, nor foals, nor calves⁶, but we let them have cattle that are wounded

¹ I have mostly followed the text of the Massekheth Kuthim as amended by Kirchheim, but many important variations are to be found in the Mishnah, Tosifta, and the two Talmuds, for which the reader is referred to Kirchheim's elaborate notes.

² Lev. xv. 14, 29.

³ Because they might sell it to heathens: לֹא תַחַזֵּב (Deut. vii. 2, 'Thou shalt not shew mercy upon them') was read by the Rabbis 'Thou shalt not settle them': Bab. 'Aboda Zara, 20a.

⁴ They might sell it to heathens, and so the first of the fleece (Deut. xviii. 4) might not be given to the priests; so with regard to crops also.

⁵ Lest they might have a claim upon the ground; Bab. 'Aboda Zara, 20b.

⁶ As they might sell or lend them to heathens, and the provisions of Exod. xxii. 9 sq. not be observed.

beyond the possibility of a cure. We sell them no weapons nor anything which could damage persons: we neither give nor take wives from them, but we give and borrow on usury with them: we let them have the gleanings, and that which is forgotten, and the corners of our fields¹; and they too have the same custom with regard to that which is forgotten and the corners of their fields, and are to be relied upon to carry out all these practices in their proper time and the tithe for the poor in its year²; the fruit of their trees is held for untithed, as that of heathens, and their instrumentality in the 'Erubh' is as if done by heathens³. A daughter of Israel may not deliver a Samaritan woman nor suckle her son⁴, but a Samaritan woman may perform these offices for a daughter of Israel in her (the Israelite's) house; an Israelite may circumcise a Samaritan, and a Samaritan an Israelite, though R. Jehuda says a Samaritan should not do so, for he circumcises in honour of mount Garizim. We may stand a beast in the stable of a Samaritan or hire a Samaritan to follow and tend our cattle⁵, or give a son in the charge of a Samaritan to teach him a trade: we associate and converse with them everywhere, as is not the case with heathens. A Samaritan suffers the ḥaliṣah from his sister-in-law⁶, and gives a letter of divorce to his wife: he may be trusted to bring such from beyond the sea to an Israelite. The following are things we do not sell to them,—that which has died of itself, what has been torn, abominations, reptiles, the abortion of an animal,

¹ Lev. xxiii. 22; Deut. xxiv. 19.

² Every third year; Deut. xxvi. 12.

³ See above, p. 34, note 3.

⁴ As she might be rearing the child for idolatry.

⁵ Exod. xxii. 19.

⁶ Deut. xxv. 9.

oil into which a mouse has fallen, an animal that is mortally ill, and a fetus, (though these last two are eaten by Israelites,) because in so doing we should be leading into error. And as we do not sell such things to them, so neither do we buy them from them, as it is written, 'For thou art a holy people to the Lord thy God¹;' inasmuch as thou art holy, thou shalt not make another people more holy than thyself. A Samaritan may be trusted to say whether there is or is not a sepulchre [in a field], or of an animal whether it is first-born or not, of a tree whether it is four years old or still impure, and also is credible with regard to grave-stones, but not with regard to spreading trees² nor stones projecting from walls, nor with regard to the land of the Gentiles³, nor to a field in which a sepulchre has been ploughed up, inasmuch as in these things their belief is open to suspicion. In fine, they are not to be trusted in a matter in which their belief is open to suspicion.

ii. We do not buy meat from a Samaritan butcher except such as he himself eats, nor strings of birds unless he has first put them into his mouth; it is not enough that he offer them to an Israelite, as before now they have been

¹ Deut. xiv. 21.

² They can be trusted with regard to grave-stones, as these are distinctly marked: not with regard to a spreading tree or a stone projecting from a wall, under which a dead body might have been buried; these would be considered by the Rabbis as a tent, and cause pollution to any one sitting below. The Samaritans are not of this opinion, and so their testimony would not be received, as they would naturally be careless in the matter.

³ Probably because the Jews would hold it for unclean, which the Samaritans would not do.

suspected of giving us to eat what had died of itself. A Samaritan and Israelite are on the same footing with regard to all damages mentioned in the Law: an Israelite who kills a Samaritan, or a Samaritan who kills an Israelite, goes into exile¹ if he have done it unwittingly; if of set purpose, he suffers death: if the ox of an Israelite gores the ox of a Samaritan the master escapes free, but if the ox of a Samaritan gores one belonging to an Israelite, should it be the first offence, half the damage is paid; should warning before have been given, the whole²: R. Meir says that if the ox of a Samaritan gores one belonging to an Israelite, whether for the first time or not, the whole damage must be paid, and as if the animal had been of the best. The cheese of Samaritans is allowed: R. Simeon Ben Eleazar says that of householders only, while that of dealers is forbidden: their pots and presses are forbidden, because they make wine and vinegar with them. The priests of Israel may share with the Samaritan priests in Samaria, inasmuch as they are, as it were, thus rescuing their property from their hand, but not in the land of Israel, in order not to establish their claim to the priesthood: a Samaritan priest while unclean may give what he is eating to an Israelite, but not if he be clean³. We buy no bread from a Samaritan baker at the end of the Passover until after three bakings, nor from householders till three Sabbaths are past, nor from villagers till it has been made three times⁴. When is this to be observed? When

¹ To the city of refuge; Numb. xxxv. 25 sq. ² Exod. xxi. 36.

³ Because what he eats when unclean must be a common, not a holy thing.

⁴ See Kirchheim's note. Leavened bread baked during the Passover was forbidden.

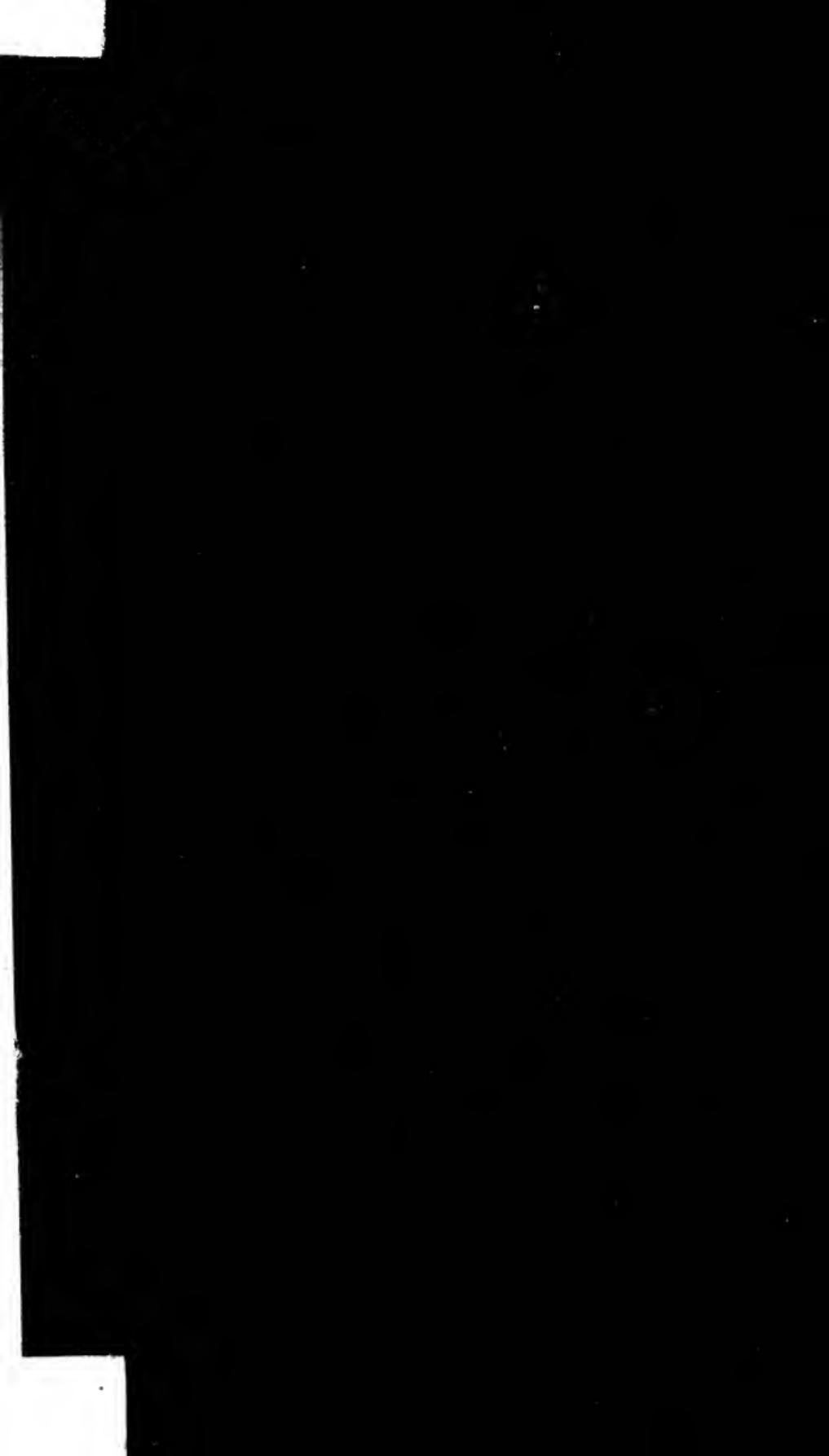
they do not keep the feast of unleavened bread simultaneously with Israel, or have anticipated us by a day: if they keep it with us, or commence a day later, then their bread is allowed; though R. Simeon forbids it, as they do not know how to keep the feast like Israel. At first our doctors said the wine of Gador is forbidden, because of the wine of Kephar Panshah¹: this they afterwards modified, saying, in every place of which the inhabitants are suspected for their intimacy with heathens, wine that is open is forbidden, and what is fastened up allowed. R. Meir says all their wine is allowed except what is open in the market: our doctors say, what is open in any place is forbidden, what is fastened up is permitted; what has been perforated and then fastened up is as if always fastened up; their jars if new are permitted, if old forbidden. Why are the Samaritans forbidden to come into the congregation of Israel? Because they are mixed up with the priests of the heights. R. Ishmael says, at first they were genuine converts; why were they then excommunicated? Because of the spurious children they have begotten², and because they do not marry their brother's widow³. When shall we receive them? When they give up their faith in mount Garizim and acknowledge Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead: thenceforth he who robs a Samaritan will be as one who robs an Israelite.

¹ Neubauer, *Géographie*, p. 137.

² By unlawful marriages, Geiger, *Urschr.* p. 54.

³ See above, p. 38.

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